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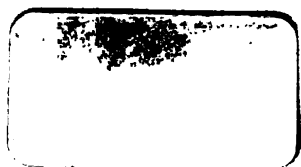
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Buddhist and Christian Gospels

NOW FIRST COMPARED FROM THE
ORIGINALS: BEING "GOSPEL
PARALLELS FROM PĀLI TEXTS,"
REPRINTED WITH ADDITIONS

BY

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS, M.A.

*Fourth Edition: being the Tōkyō edition
revised and enlarged*

EDITED WITH ENGLISH NOTES ON
CHINESE VERSIONS DATING FROM
THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

BY

MASAHARU ANESAKI

Professor of Religious Science in the Imperial University of Tōkyō

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I

PHILADELPHIA

INNIS & SONS, 1311 Sansom Street

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41*36

"IN THOSE AGES IT WOULD HAVE BEEN USELESS TO ATTEMPT A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR SUCH TEACHING. WHAT COULD BEST BE DONE WAS TO ENFORCE SOME FEW GREAT TRUTHS—AS THE SOUL'S LONG UPWARD PROGRESS, OR THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD—IN SUCH REVELATIONS AS EAST AND WEST COULD UNDERSTAND. GRADUALLY SCIENCE AROSE, UNITING THE BELIEFS OF ALL PEOPLES IN ONE SCHEME OF ORGANIZED TRUTH, AND SUGGESTING—AS HAS BEEN SAID—THAT RELIGION MUST BE THE SPIRIT'S SUBJECTIVE REACTION TO ALL THE TRUTHS WE KNOW."

MYERS: *Human Personality*, Chap. IX.

man mean nothing. Take, for example, the voice that told Fox that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify a man to be a minister of Christ. It has lately been pointed out (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, article on Saltmarsh) that the words heard by Fox occur almost verbatim in a work by Saltmarsh, published in 1646, the very year in which Fox heard the voice. The writer in the Dictionary says that Saltmarsh anticipated Fox, but he means as to date of publication. Now what Fox heard may have come direct from the mind of his contemporary fellow mystic which would be sending forth vibrations to impinge upon congenial spirits. In my unpublished review of the great work of Frederic Myers, I have pointed out another coincidence of this kind.]

* * * * *

50. The Christ remains [on earth] for the Æon.

John XII: 34. (約翰第十二章四節)

The multitude therefore answered him, We have heard out of the Law, that the Christ abideth forever [*εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, for the æon.]

Enunciations VI, 1. and Long Collection, Dialogue 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in E. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 46.)

Ānando, any one who has practised the four principles of psychical power—developed them, made them active and practical, pursued them, accumulated and striven to the height thereof—can, if he so should wish, remain [on earth] for the æon or the rest of the æon.

Now, Ānando, the Tathāgato has practised and perfected these; and if he so should wish, *the Tathāgato could remain [on earth] for the æon or the rest of the æon.*

C.T. 長阿遊行經 (M.C. No. 2. of No. 514, 庚九 13a).

(傳告)阿難。諸有修四神足多修習行。常念不忘在意所欲。可得不死一切有餘。

阿難。佛四神足已多修行專念不忘在意所欲。如來可止一切有餘(爲世餘真。多所能益。天人獲安)。

[The words in italics agree with those in the Greek of John.

Specimen page (reduced) of the Tōkyō edition of this book (1905), showing one of Anesaki's Chinese notes. The Parallel 50 of that edition is No. 63 in the present one. This particular Parallel stood first in the first series of "Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts" (*Open Court: Chicago, February, 1900.*) The misprint of the word *multitude* is a typical one. Five hundred of such errata are here corrected, and also a misplaced clause of the title. Copies of that edition may still be had.

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I. AIM OF THIS BOOK.

The two great missionary religions, which traveled round the world in opposite directions until they met, have hitherto been strangers to each other. The younger one has called the older "heathenism," while the older one has called the younger "the superstition of the Franks." (1) It is the aim of this book to compare, not their corruptions and idolatries, (2) but their oldest and purest documents, regarded by each as the inspired oracles of its Founder. Such comparison will finally have the effect of making them respect each other, and hasten the day when mankind will be one.

(1) Parāṅgi-micchādīṭṭhi, in a Pāli chronicle of 1802. (Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1885, p. 19.)

(2) It is true that there are the beginnings of these corruptions in the sacred texts themselves : e. g. the Infancy Sections. To compare the fundamental documents will be a task for the future.

2. WHAT TO READ HEREIN.

For readers who have no time for my whole book, and yet would like to gain some idea thereof, I prescribe the following extracts :

- 1 The five Prefaces (including Anesaki's).
- 2 The last ten or twelve pages of the Historical Introduction.
- 3 Selection of Parallels that strike one in reading the Table of Contents.

If some of my reviewers had spent an hour over this modicum of matter, there would have been fewer of the usual wild statements.

3. PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

After the manuscript of the third edition was dispatched to Tōkyō (September, 1904), there appeared in Germany the following work, which had already appeared in Holland in 1901:—

Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen. Von G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga. Mit einem Nachwort von Ernst Kuhn. Göttingen, 1904.

This German translation of Van Eysinga's Dutch book is published in Bousset and Gunkel's series of Old and New Testament Researches, and its appearance under such auspices is sufficient indication of the standing which the problem has at last won. For my present edition I have taken several hints from Van Eysinga, especially in the Appendix on Apocryphal Parallels. I am also indebted to Pfeiderer herein. Van Eysinga had evidently no access to my *Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts*, which were appearing in Chicago while his first edition was going to press: he relies mainly upon Seydel, whose great source was the Lalita Vistara, translated from the Tibetan by Foucaux. 1847 On my part, I secured a copy of Van Eysinga too late for my third edition. Van Eysinga, however, mentions my work in a footnote, while Kuhn calls fuller attention thereto in his *Nachwort*.

Otto Pfeiderer, in his *Religion und Religionen* (Munich, 1906) takes the ground of Baur, that

Christianity is a synthesis of all preceding religious antitheses, and that Buddhism is one of its sources.

In his *Christian Origins* (English translation, New York, 1906, p. 226,) the same scholar says: "These [Buddhist] parallels to the childhood stories of Luke are too striking to be classed as mere chance: some kind of historical connection must be postulated."

Otto Schmiedel, in his *Hauptprobleme der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Ed. 2, Tübingen, 1906, p. 31) says:—

"Eine Abhängigkeit vom Buddhismus bei Lucas und Johannes ist *möglich*, bei den *apokryphischen* Evangelien, d. h. den etwa zwischen 150–700 und teilweise noch später abgefassten, legendarischen, fast durchweg die Kindheits- und Mariengeschichte behandelnden Erzeugnissen, *unabweislich*."

While the aim of my book is as already stated, yet as a secondary aim is the discussion of this problem of action and reaction between the cosmic Twain, and their probable derivation from an ancient fund of Asiatic belief. Scholars (by which I mean philologists who are also philosophers) are beginning to break the shackles and ignorances of the last generation, with its Mediterranean culture and Romocentric universe. Our culture is now crossing the Euphrates. Pāli scholars like Rhys Davids, (1)

(1) Rhys Davids has given me permission to quote him as saying to me: "The evidences in favor of intercommunication are growing every day."

Ernst Kuhn, Heinrich Kern, Richard Pischel and Takakusu now take this problem seriously, while Max Müller and Edmond Hardy did so before they died. No scholar can any longer assert that Indianists are averse to its discussion.

A clear idea of the situation may be gained by a comparison. The continents of North and South America are united by an isthmus, but each expands independently and in an opposite direction: their only connection is a narrow neck. On the other hand, in a pre-historic age they may have been more closely allied than at present, and in any case they both are parts of mother earth. Even so are Christianity and Buddhism related. Upon the historical plane the connection is very slight, and each religion belongs to a hemisphere of its own.

Other schemes of comparison than our present one could be used, such as the following :—

- 1 The Synoptical Tradition (i.e. the Biography composed by Mark).
- 2 The Logia.
- 3 The Infancy Sections.
- 4 The Matthean and Lucan Legends.
- 5 The Johannine Gospel.

Or, from the Buddhist standpoint :—

- 1 The Classified Collection, the Itivuttaka, and the older parts of the Vinaya.
2. The Later Nikāyas and the poetical sūtras:

Sutta-Nipāto, &c. Also, Jātakas and Adbhuta matter.

5 The Abhidharma and the Apocrypha (Lalita Vistara, &c.)

4 The Mahāyāna.

But such an arrangement would be difficult, for even in the Synoptical tradition and the Classified Collection some allegories and portents are introduced. Moreover, those of us who have experienced psychical phenomena could not collocate apparitions and transfigurations with miraculous meals and virginal births. Our present arrangement by subjects and not by literary strata is therefore the best.

I give here the schemes of comparison used by Spence Hardy and Seydel. The following is Hardy's, which I found in the library of Harvard University after my book had issued from the Tōkyō press:—

Christianity and Buddhism
Compared.

By the late Rev. R. Spence Hardy.

Colombo :
Wesleyan Mission Press.
1874.

Contents.

Book I. Prefatory.

PROLEGOMENA 3

- Chapter 1 The Rule of Faith.
2 The Existence of God.
3 The Origin of the Universe.
4 The Origin of Evil.
-

Book II. The Person.

- Chapter 1 Pre-Existence.
2 The Purpose and Preparation.
3 The Incarnation.
4 The Early Life.
5 The Temptation.
-

Book III. The Ministry.

- Chapter 1 The Commencement.
2 The Assertion of the Supremacy.
3 The Evidence in proof of the Supremacy.
4 The Voice of the Teacher.
-

Book IV. The Development of the System.

- Chapter 1 The Rule of Life.
2 The Economy of the Church.
3 The Issues of Life.
-

In the preface, the author compares the problem of arriving at original Buddhism by the study of its present phases in Ceylon, Farther India and Tibet, to the similar problem in our own religion : given Italian Papacy, English Puritanism and German Rationalism, to find Apostolic Christianity. Spence

Hardy's last chapter was deciphered from his rough draft after his death, and in this draft the last chapter was entitled *The Issues of Death*.

Whatever coincidences there may be between my book and Spence Hardy's are entirely due to the nature of the subject. Seydel's, however, I find I had classified in 1889 or 1890, when working in the old Philadelphia Library. But I was not studying on these lines at that period, and made no note of it. Later I picked up Lillie's little book, which is based upon Seydel, and got a few hints from it, especially the parallel about the Triumphal Entry. I was going to rule this out as too slender, but noticed the curious wording of the two refrains (unobserved by Lillie) which caused me to retain it. I bought Seydel's chief books in 1900 and 1901, after large portions of my *Parallels* had appeared in *The Open Court*. But Seydel's mixture of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna documents, to say nothing of his deficiency in New Testament criticism and Pāli philology, convinced me that a critical comparison had yet to be made. Moreover, Seydel's avowed aim was to show an historical connection between the two religions. Mine is not, tho I do admit the probability of such connection in a minor degree.

The following is Seydel's scheme, translated from the German :—

The Gospel of Jesus
in its relations with the Legend and Teaching of

Buddha. Investigated by Rudolph Seydel.
Leipzig, 1882.

Buddhist-Christian Gospel-Harmony, with occasional references to the influences of other religions.

- 1 Genealogies.
- 2 Angelic Annunciation and Prediction.
- 3 Conception by the Holy Ghost.
- 4 Before Birth.
- 5 The Star of the Magi.
- 6 Bethlehem.
- 7 Shepherds and Angels.
- 8 Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh.
- 9 Simeon.
- 10 Hymnology.
- 11 Herod's Fear, Enquiries and Slaughter.
- 12 The Name-giving.
- 13 Presentation in the Temple.
- 14 His Parents seek him.
- 15 Precocity : he outstrips his Teacher.
- 16 That it might be Fulfilled which was Spoken.
- 17 The Voice of the Preacher in the Wilderness.
- 18 Fasting in the Wilderness.
- 19 Baptism in the Jordan.
- 20 The Temptation.
- 21 Forerunners.
- 22 Initiation.
- 23 Age at Public Appearance.
- 24 The Fig-tree.

- 25 Disciples.
- 26 Entrance upon his Ministry.
- 27 The Beatitudes.
- 28 Homeless, Chaste, Poor.
- 29 On the Mountain.
- 30 Compassion for the Multitude.
- 31 Physician, Savior, Redeemer.
- 32 Universality of Salvation: Publicans and Sinners. The Magdalene. The Samaritan Woman.
- 33 The Goal of Salvation.
- 34 The Way of Salvation.
- 35 He that Loseth his Life shall Find it.
 - a. Blessed are the Poor. Sell that thou hast !
 - b. He that Humbleth himself shall be Exalted.
 - c. Blessed are they that are Persecuted. Revile not again.
 - d. Pluck out thine Eye and cast it from thee !
- 36 Specific Morality.
- 37 Parables.
 - a. The Prodigal Son.
 - b. The Man Born Blind.
- 38 Relationship to God. Consciousness of Revelation.
- 39 Miracle.
- 40 Results.
- 41 Combats and Persecutions.
- 42 Instruction to the Disciples.

- 43 Forebodings of Death. Farewell Discourses.
 - 44 The Paraclete.
 - 45 Eschatological Discourses. Cosmic Con-
vulsions.
 - 46 This is my Body, this is my Blood.
 - 47 The Trinity.
 - 48 Peculiar Forms of Speech and Narrative.
 - 49 Go ye into all the World !
 - 50 Death amid Portents. Parting of the Gar-
ments.
 - 51 The Sinless, the Divine.
-

While this preface is being printed, I am in receipt of a letter from an English philologist, who, after reading my essay on Buddhist Texts in John (Philadelphia, 1906) complains that my argument requires the following postulate:—

“Let it be granted that a line of historic connection can be drawn from any passage in one set of writings to any at all conspicuously similar passage in another.”

To this I have replied that he is wrong, but I amend the postulate thus, and call it in his honor:—

The Johannine Postulate.

LET IT BE GRANTED THAT A LINE OF HISTORIC CONNECTION CAN BE DRAWN FROM ANY PASSAGE IN ONE SET OF SACRED SCRIPTURES TO ANY CONSPICUOUSLY SIMILAR PASSAGE IN ANOTHER,

BOTH OF WHICH SETS OF SCRIPTURES ARE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY NATIONS ANCIENTLY ACCOUNTED SEATS OF WISDOM, WHICH NATIONS ARE ALSO KNOWN TO HAVE HAD FREQUENT INTER-COURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

The whole trouble with my learned friend and with so many scholars is, that they do not realize the greatness of ancient India. I sympathize with them, for, by reason of our Mediterranean culture, it took me from 1880 (when I first studied Buddhism) to the present decade before I realized it. We do not yet know that at the time of Christ, India was one of the four great Powers of the earth. The leading nations then were the Romans, the Chinese, the Hindūs and the Parthians. China was somewhat secluded, tho not altogether so, while the other three were in active intercommunication. Now, in the case of verbal Parallels, like John VII. 38; XII. 34 (the subjects of my Essay), it is more rational to ascribe them to a great religion which was radiating its influence in all directions than to some hypothetical apocryphal author. The two texts in John are expressly quoted as Scripture, but are not to be found in the Old Testament or any known Jewish writing. The most we can say to this is that they are in the spirit of certain pseudepigrapha, but we can point to Buddhist texts in practically verbatim agreement.

However, I cannot often enough repeat that, while this question of Buddhist and Christian inter-

action is very fascinating, it is not and should not be our main theme. This we have clearly expressed above, under the title : "Aim of this Book."

Besides the notice of Rhys Davids, prefixed to the second edition, my book has been criticized by other eminent scholars : Louis de la Vallée Poussin, of Ghent; the late Otto Zöckler, of Greifswald; Jean Réville, of Paris; J. Takakusu, of Tōkyō; Ernst Kuhn, of Munich; and J. Estlin Carpenter, of Oxford. A review has also been promised by Richard Pischel, of Berlin. Reflections upon their criticisms and strictures will be found in the present edition (e. g. in the Historical Introduction and in the second Appendix.)

My learned friend, Talcott Williams, complains that I ought to give the Greek and the Pāli thruout, together with some one else's translation. Otherwise I may be and am accused of straining at a comparison. To this I answer :—

- 1 I give the originals in all cases of verbal agreement;
- 2 I frequently give alternative renderings;
- 3 Only a fraction of the Piṭakas has been translated; so that quite often my own rendering is the first ever made in English—or even in a European tongue;
- 4 The printing of the original texts is an expensive undertaking which I would gladly embark upon.

In sending forth this new edition, I must thank, above all, Professor Anesaki, of Tōkyō (who is about to visit America), for his learned editorship; secondly, Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin, of Ghent, for his helpful critique, written at the request of the scholars of the Dominican Monastery at Jerusalem; and also Charles F. Jenkins, of Germantown, for continuing the library privileges granted me by my lamented and distinguisht patron, Ellis Yarnall; John F. Lewis, vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for giving me the freedom of the Mercantile Library; and C. W. Larison, phonetic printer, of Ringoes, New Jersey, for supplying me with the nasal letter (ŋ). This letter was invented by Benjamin Franklin in 1768, and should therefore be familiar to all Americans. It was adopted by Isaac Pitman, in his Phonotypy in the middle of the last century, and by Rhys Davids, in his translation of the first forty Jātakas in 1880. It should therefore be known to all well-read Englishmen.

Philadelphia: August, 1907.

4. REFORMED SPELLING.

If I live to write an English Grammar, I shall begin like this :—

There are two kinds of written language :

- 1 Ideographic ;
- 2 Phonetic.

No. 1 uses conventionalized pictures for words : e. g., a pair of legs for a man, a disk for the sun, &c. No. 2 uses letters, which stand for sounds. But when the two systems are confused, a barbarous written language is the result. Such confusion may arise in No. 1 by assigning to certain ideographs a phonetic value, while retaining their ideographic sense also ; and in No. 2, by allowing letters to remain the same long after their sounds have changed. Chinese is the cardinal example of the first kind of confusion, and English of the second. These two languages, when written, are the jest of the civilized world.

When sound-signs no longer speak the truth, the word becomes practically an ideograph. Thus, in the word ONE, there is nothing true but the N. The E is silent, the O can mean at least four things ; while the W sound, heard in the spoken tongue, is not represented at all ! ONE is thus a semi-ideograph, and not a word. Now, the pronunciation of a true word is self-evident, but that of an ideograph can only be learnt by mixing with speakers of the language : it makes any study of the

speech from books impossible, except by reconstruction. So deep-seated are the superstitions of religion, politics and language, that we even plume ourselves upon the supposed smartness of saying one thing and writing another, like the English, who write "Beauchamp" and say "Beecham," who write "Cholmondeley" and say "Chumley." We have the same literary habits as the Chinese: just as they make words rime (1) (supposedly) as they rimed in the age of Mencius, so we make *war* rime with *star* merely on account of their appearance when written with an alphabet which has twenty-six letters to represent forty sounds.

When a language becomes thus degenerate, a disuse of it by the most intelligent nations ensues, and its final decay is already at hand. Phonetic languages that are controlled by scholars, as are Spanish and German, make the signs keep pace with the sounds. Such languages are on their way to become general, however much the degenerates may seem to thrive for a time by reason of commercial success. The degeneracy of English spelling has gone so far that even a slight reform seems surgical. Thus, the Roman letter U (whose true sound is preserved in *rude* and *brute*) has attracted a *y* to it in English; and instead of inserting this

(1) This is Milton's spelling in *Paradise Lost*:

"Things unattempted yet in prose or rime."

Some pedant who was ignorant of Anglo-Saxon set the fashion of writing it *rhyme*, because he fancied that it was connected with *rhythm*.

y and writing *styūpid*, *astyūt*, &c., we have altered the value of U and call it YU, much to the worse confusion of the already long-suffering Roman alphabet. And until elementary philology is taught in our normal schools, teachers and pupils alike will go on imagining all such falsities about the meaning of letters, and will gravely inform you that *thru* spells *thryū* (riming with *few*). They do not know that the scholars of Europe and America have merely restored to U its original sound by this change.

In adopting the trifling changes here introduced, such as *tho* and *thru* and the abolition of the æ, it must not be supposed that the writer is a cold-blooded reformer who does not feel the wrench. On the contrary, he feels it keenly, and to write *eon* and *pean* for *æon* and *pæan* gives him real pain. Then there is the uneasy consciousness that legions of school-girls will cry "Ignoramus!" And if he had the ill luck to be a President who was fighting for elementary common sense in documents of State, he would be nonplust by an ignorant Congress, just as our present barbarous orthography has been fixt upon us by German printers of the sixteenth, and half-taught schoolmasters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A study of scientific languages like Sanskrit and Pāli clears the mind of provincial superstitions, while a slight acquaintance with Chinese gives one an insight into the abyss toward which our own

language is drifting. Hence one can make the required sacrifice of sentiment to science, knowing that, while dilettantes may censure, scholars will acquit. I am aware that a few in the ranks of the latter contend for our present corruptions upon psychologic grounds: they would have the written language partly phonetic and partly ideographic. But upon them must be laid the burden of showing how this can be consistently done. Probably, however, no one in the ranks of our adversaries has the cosmic knowledge of language possessed by a Max Müller or a Henry Sweet, or by my friend Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, secretary of the Simplified Spelling Board, 1, Madison Avenue, New York.

While thus expressing my views from the standpoint of language at large, it is but just to the learned members of the Simplified Spelling Board to say that their changes are strictly in accord with English traditions, and not *à priori* phonetic reforms. It is only necessary to write a postal card to the Board's headquarters to receive a list of their proposed changes and the reasons therefor.

I am proud to say that a fellow-citizen of Philadelphia (which the Spaniards correctly write Filadelfia) has preceded me in adopting these little changes in a scientific work. I refer to *Comparative Art*, by Edwin Swift Balch (Philadelphia, 1906).

As Americans, we must remember that precisely these initial reforms were begun by Noah Webster. In the two editions of his American

Dictionary of the English Language, printed during his own lifetime (New York, 1828, and New Haven, 1841), he defends, upon strictly conventional grounds, the few departures that he made from the confused spelling of Dr. Johnson. He proves by quotations that the spelling is not and never has been fixt. He points out the absurdity of retaining the *u* in *labour* and striking it out of *authour* and *emperour*; of retaining the French form *theatre*, but making *chamber* English. This learned introduction ought to be reprinted in larger type by the Simplified Spelling Board. (1) Very few Americans realize what a step was made by Webster and how he was execrated by the conservatives, especially in England. But he was carrying out what the English had themselves begun: the gradual reform of their written language. His posthumous editor (1847) tells us that German critics applauded him for going even further than conventional analogies and striking out the *a* in *feather*, &c., and they predicted his success, "because similar improvements on a much broader scale had been easily made in their language." But, alas! while German writing is controlled by scholars, English is controlled by schoolmasters, printers, and journalists. This being the case, Webster restored the old orthography to several words in his second edition, after they had been before the world

(1) Webster's *Dissertations on the English Language* (Boston, 1789) should also be reprinted.

for twelve years since his first (1828-1840.) In recent editions of "Webster," there will be found a list of three thousand amended spellings, drawn up in 1883 by the Philological Societies of Great Britain and the United States. The modest three hundred changes of the Simplified Spelling Board are a mere selection from this international list.

People of English birth imagine that they speak the only English, and that all American differences are errors. But the philologists of Oxford and Cambridge could teach them better, if they would but learn. These scholars could show them that it is a law of language for pronunciation to change with every century, especially when the speakers thereof become separated by geographical barriers, such as an ocean or a mountain chain. After ages of such separation we first have dialects and finally new languages. The steamship, the telegraph and the public press will retard the transformation in our case, but they cannot prevent it; and in the next millenium American English will have its own grammar and dictionary. Even now an interesting monograph could be written on the two dialects, the European and the American, and long tables drawn up of differences in meaning and pronunciation. Thus, the word *fiend* has come to mean, in the United States, one who does anything assiduously or in excess, so that some enthusiastic worshipers once explained to me that their family were "great church fiends." I am aware that the English will tell me that this is American slang, but

it is not. It is no more slang than the word *sick* in European English, which now means vomiting, whereas in American English it means ill. And it meant so in the European English of 1611, which is the common heritage of both nations.

Thus thru the ages do changes occur, and philosophers will be prepared for them and adapt themselves thereto. And so soon as they get control of the language, as they ought, they will see to it that the spoken tongue and its written counterpart be kept abreast, and will forever prevent the possibility of the latter becoming a mere fossil, worse than Chinese.

5. PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1902)

Orientalists are aware that a series of translations entitled *Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts* appeared in *The Open Court* of Chicago in 1900 and 1901, following upon the translation of the Canonical Buddhist Nativity legend, which appeared in 1898. These Parallels have aroused the interest of New Testament scholars, like Rendel Harris and Caspar Gregory, and it is proposed to reprint them, with additions and historical introduction, in book form.

An excellent bibliography of former attempts to compare Christianity and Buddhism will be found in *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*, by Charles Francis Aiken, (Boston, 1900, p. 339). From this it appears that one of the first to institute such comparison was the well-known German New Testament scholar, Hilgenfeld, in 1867. The first systematic treatise by an English scholar was *Christianity and Buddhism Compared*, by Robert Spence Hardy (Colombo, 1874); while the standard works upon the whole subject are two in German by Rudolph Seydel, in 1882 and 1884.

It is believed, however, that our present work is the first comparison made from the Pāli texts themselves. Even Spence Hardy did not know Pāli, but Singhalese, and relied upon medieval Ceylon treatises, in which text and commentary are confused. He made some use, however, of a por-

tion of the Pāli Canon which was translated to him by an ex-monk in Ceylon. But Seydel had to rely upon the small fraction of the Canon which had been translated in his time. His son, P. M. Seydel, edited a posthumous work of his father's in 1897; but it still represented the learning of the Eighties. Moreover the Seydels include translations from the Chinese and other post-Christian Buddhist versions alongside of the pre-Christian Pāli. Our present work is the first attempt to compare Buddhist Pāli with Christian Greek. Many of our translations in *The Open Court* appeared there for the first time in English, especially from the Enunciations, the Logia Book, and the Middling and Numerical Collections.

Our book will cover some three hundred pages, and as publication may be delayed, the student is presented with the following outline.

6. PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Our first edition, printed in 1902, was merely a 16-page abstract of the whole work. The present edition is also fragmentary, except that the section dealing with the Doctrine of the Lord is printed in full. The publication of historical works is very difficult in this age of ephemera. The only genuine publishers are governments, universities and learned societies, together with a very few commercial firms that have men of learning at their head. Not having any influence with the first three, and having sought in vain to find the last or at least to enlist their co-operation, I am compelled to print piecemeal what my funds will permit.

But while the commercial world ignores a work of research, scholars accord it recognition. T. W. Rhys Davids, of London, in an article entitled "Buddhism and Christianity," in *The International Quarterly* for 1903, has called public attention to my book in the following words. Speaking of the premature work of Seydel, he says :

"We shall soon see. An American scholar, Mr. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, is on the point of publishing a complete set of comparisons between the Nikāyas and the Gospels, adducing later materials only by way of comparison and carefully distinguishing them from the earlier documents."

For further information I must refer the reader to our first edition, and to the following numbers

of the Chicago *Open Court*, where many of our Parallels have appeared : February, April, June and October, 1900 ; January and July, 1901 ; September and November, 1902 ; April and December, 1903.

I repeat what I said in the provisional preface in 1900 :

“No borrowing is alleged on either side—Christian or Buddhist—in these Parallels. We offer no theory but present them as facts. They at least belong to a world of thought which the whole East had in common.”

In my unpublisht Historical Introduction I have admitted the possibility of a knowledge of the Buddhist Epic on the part of Luke ; but his use of it, if actual, was very slight and almost entirely confined to his Infancy Section.

Finally, the Parallels are mainly in ideas, not in words.

3231 Sansom Street, Philadelphia :
Good Friday, 1904.

7. PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION (Tōkyō, 1905)

The present work is part of a larger one : viz.,
CYCLOPEDIA EVANGELICA: *an English Documentary Introduction to the Four Gospels.*

I may truly say it is my life-work. (1) In 1875 I compiled a manuscript Harmony of the Gospels, which laid the foundation of my studies, after a good Quaker knowledge of those corner-stones of sacred literature. In 1877, I had some instruction in the Greek Testament and the classics from William Scarnell Lean. In 1879 I met with two remarkable men, who incited me to read the *Sacred Books of the East*, then beginning to appear. They were Thomas Dixon, the workman-friend of Ruskin, and William Brockie. The latter was a self-made scholar of an original type, and a philologist of no mean caliber. These two men set the key-note of my life. In 1880 I began to read the Sacred Books, and in 1890 took up a course of study in the Greek Gospels and the early Fathers, with Rendel Harris for a guide. In 1891 I began the Documentary Introduction, by tabulating patristic quotations; and in 1898 finisht all but the portion which is to

(1) Jean Réville misunderstands this statement (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*: Paris, Sept. - Oct. 1906) and imagines that I have been dominated for thirty years by a fixt idea. But in 1875 I was orthodox. It required many years to enable me to regard religions impartially. See *Buddhist Texts in John*, p. 19. [Note of 1907.]

deal with comparative religion. Since 1895 I have studied Pāli literature in isolation,(2) but with frequent encouragement from Lanman, the successor of Whitney as the leader of American Indianists.

My Cyclopedia, if ever it see the light, will contain the following matter :

1 Preface.

2 The Gospel of Mark in English, with the common matter in heavy type, after the manner of

(2) To give the reader an idea of the difficulties under which I workt, it must be stated that there is (so far as known to me) only one complete Pāli dictionary in the great and wealthy State of Pennsylvania. It was put into the University Library in the winter of 1896-1897 by Professor Jastrow, at my request, when a second-hand copy of Childers had been pointed out to me by my lamented friend Howard Lloyd. There has been, since the time of Lloyd P. Smith, a copy of the first half of Childers (A—N) in the Loganian Library, which I was allowed to use by Ellis Yarnall. When the University secured the whole volume, I was permitted the loan of it for three months, and copied therefrom all the verbs and also the minor parts of speech in the second half of the Roman alphabet. I also wrote in shorthand the meanings of all the words from N to Y in the vocabularies of the Pāli texts in my possession. When the Dictionary was finally placed in the Reference Department of the University Library, I could only consult it on the spot, and made periodical trips with accumulations of nouns and adjectives from N to Y to hunt up. After working in this disjointed way all my life, I have found it impossible to keep it up, and have now (1907) deposited my Oriental and historical collection in the Semitic Seminary at Bryn Mawr College. So there are now two libraries in the State (one for each sex) where the Pāli Texts in Roman letters may be found.

Abbott and Rushbrooke, only that the agreements of any two evangelists are so treated, instead of three or four.

3 The Logia-source similarly exhibited by the matter common to Luke and Matthew.

4 All quotations from the Gospels and references to the life of Christ down to Justin Martyr inclusive (A. D. 150), conformed to the Revised Version of 1881, thereby exhibiting some quotations disguised in the current translations of the Fathers.

5 Lists of New Testament books from the earliest MSS. (Part of this portion appeared in *The Friend*: Philadelphia; 1st Mo. 28, and 2nd Mo. 4, 1899.)

6 The Eusebian Canons and Ammonian Sections accurately tabulated, with contents, besides having been given in the margin of Mark.

7 New Testament and patristic passages on the growth of the Canon, arranged under heads that show the development.

8 Jewish and non-Christian prophecies and parallels, whereof the present work is a portion. Under the same head is included the evangelical element in Philo. I hope also to add the Talmudic statements about Jesus.

9 List of lost works of the first and second centuries.

10 Jerome's Lives of the Evangelists, with notes, pointing out older authorities. (This ap-

peared in pamphlet form at Philadelphia in 1896, and is now exhausted.)

11 A study of the transmission of the different sacred literatures of the world, compared with that of the New Testament. (Part of this study was read before the American Oriental Society in 1896.)

12 Appendix on the Infancy Sections (Matthew I.-II; Luke I.-II.)

Seydel's large work on the Buddhist and Christian Gospels I have only lately seen, and his smaller one (3) came into my hands when my book was almost done; but as this truly original scholar did not know Pāli, and wrote at a time when even translations from the Buddhist Canon were few, his work must needs be done again. It is absolutely imperative to study these parallels in their earliest forms, which are to be found in the Pāli Piṭakas and the Greek New Testament. Comparison of late patristic additions is quite another thing. Some of the most searching Parallels can only be seen by a knowledge of the Greek: e. g. *αἰώνιον ἁμαρτημα* and *ὁ Χριστός μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*.

In choosing these Parallels I have been guided more by central ideas than by verbal agreement, of which there is little. Take for example the story of the Penitent Thief. In the Buddhist and Chris-

(3) Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien. (Weimar, 1897, Ed. 2.) This is edited by his son, but the father's work is hardly brought down below 1884, the date of the first edition.

tian narratives there is nothing on the surface to suggest a parallel. But, looking deeper, we find in both the following central ideas:

- 1 Conversion of a robber.
- 2 His complete forgiveness (except as to physical pains).
- 3 His happiness hereafter.

Moreover, there is in the Buddhist legend the Johannine doctrine of the New Birth, while a genuine Gospel spirit of pity for the poor and outcast breathes thru the whole. No wonder the story was so popular. As pointed out in my note, it is one out of a choice group of leading scenes in Buddha's life which were graven on the great Tope in the ancient capital of Ceylon, in the second century before Christ. The Chinese, too, have more than one version of the story in separate form, as well as the Canonical translation in their Āgamas.

When a Christian parallel narrative is told by more than one Evangelist, my principles of selection are as follow: If one Gospel agree more closely with the Pāli than another, I give its account alone, leaving the student to refer to the parallel or parallels in other Gospels in the usual way. If there be no such choice, I give Mark the preference in narrative (and in such discourses as he may relate) because of his primacy among the Synoptists. (4) If Mark have no account of the

(4) The Twentieth Century New Testament rightly places Mark at the head of the Gospels.

parallel in question, I prefer the First Gospel to Luke, because (1) it contains the substance of the lost Logia-Source (which was perhaps older than Mark) in fuller measure than Luke ; and (2) because Luke so frequently agrees with the Pāli when the others do not, that I do not wish to make out a case for him by using him where there is no need. My use of the Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse has been sparing, my aim being to compare the Masters. These books doubtless contain, however, doctrines and sayings which go back to Christ, as well as acknowledged developments and borrowings from non-Christian fields. But then the Pāli Texts themselves contain the later doctrines of the Order side by side with the words of the Master, the *Sāvaka-bhāsītā* as well as the *Tathāgata-bhāsītā*.

Regarding these translations, it must be borne in mind that many of them have been made for the first time in English, or even in a European tongue. The Pāli language has not been studied long enough to give it the fixity of Greek and Latin. The only Dictionary is far from perfect, though it cost the heroic Childers his life. If I have therefore made mistakes, I shall be grateful to have them corrected. I may be reproached for translating Brahmā by "God," but Buddhists themselves, tho agnostic as regards the Deity, use the name to represent the Brahmin idea of a conscious Supreme Being, as well as the Archangel and archangels of their own mythology.

Many of the parallels came to me independently

while reading the Pāli Texts or their versions ; but I have also been helped by the works of Max Müller, Renan, Beal, Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Fausbøll, Estlin Carpenter, Copleston and Rendel Harris, (5) all of whom have pointed out parallels between Buddhism and Christianity.

Then I have made use of those scholars who have traced the course of Indian communications with the west : Robertson, Claudius Buchanan, Lassen, Reinaud, Priaulx, John Davies, Birdwood, Hopkins and D'Alviella. Nor must I forget the debt I owe to the London Pāli Text Society, but for whose valuable editions in Roman type, my work could never have been done.

The lamented Henry C. Warren, in his *Buddhism in Translations*, (Harvard University, 1896) deals more with the metaphysics of the religion than with its popular aspects. Moreover, fully half his work is taken from commentaries and other uncanonical sources. My own rule has been to confine myself to the pre-Christian canonical texts.

The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ, by Charles Francis Aiken (Boston, 1900) has come into my hands in time to

(5) Especially in correspondence with me. For bibliography generally, I refer the reader to the valuable one in Dr. Aiken's book mentioned below, merely adding that he has omitted Neumann's translation of the *Majjhima Nikayo* : 1896-1902, and has put Milindo among the Pāli texts, instead of among the commentaries.

profit by some of its useful suggestions. Thus, I have banisht the alleged parallel to Nicodemus, have introduced the words "Capital" and "Pean" into the title of the *Triumphal Entry*, and have given a fuller extract here than I had done before reading Aiken. I have also added a few lines in my introduction 'about Buddhists committing suicide, &c. These are the chief places where Dr. Aiken has influenced the text of my *Parallels* or my *Historical Introduction*, but I have frequently mentioned him in the notes. When, therefore, we make almost identical statements, as we do in the case of the lack of Buddhist memorials in the Greek empire, we are writing independently of each other. On this particular point, however, we have had a guide in Estlin Carpenter.

I thoroly agree with the learned Catholic divine in his maintenance of the independent origin of Buddhist and Christian Scriptures, provided we mean their fundamental documents. The Epistles of Paul, the Gospel of Mark, and the Logia-Source are dependent for their primary inspiration upon the life and deeds of Jesus, and secondly upon the Old Testament oracles, the current beliefs of the times, as embodied in works like *Enoch*; and the personal convictions of earnest men like Paul, Peter and Matthew. But when we come to late documents, such as Luke, John, and the canonical First Gospel, other influences have crept in. This is now admitted by all historical critics, and the most that I advance in this direction is the possibility of the

Gentile Gospel of Luke, in certain traits extraneous to the Synoptical narrative, having been tinged by the Gotamist Epic.

Dr. Aiken is just in many of his criticisms upon certain parallels adduced by former writers, as far-fetched. But he goes too far when he reduces the parallelism in the Triumphal Entry to the bare fact of the Masters entering a city, "which," he truly says, "is no parallel at all." But he omits the number of monks who are said to have surrounded Gotamo, viz., one thousand,—a round number, doubtless, but indicative of quite a company to walk into a capital, with a Brahmin youth at their head chanting a pean. Considering that a rising sect were the guests of a king, I think the entry was decidedly one of triumph, while the reply of Sakko to the people, that he was the [royal] attendant of Buddha (also omitted by Aiken) savors somewhat of "the king that cometh," &c. As I have pointed out, too, in my note, there is a curious verbal likeness between the Greek and the Pāli of the two refrains. Dr. Aiken says that the story "is not found in the most ancient forms of the Buddha-legend, and is entirely unknown to the Northern school." But it occurs in the canonical Pāli of the Mahāvaggo, one of the oldest Buddhist documents, and is found in Chinese in the Madhyamāgama, Sūtra 62.

I repeat that what we are looking for is not words, but ideas. Thus, Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 81,) draws a parallel between the

Buddhist practise of *sati* (i. e. doing everything with full consciousness) and the Christian one of doing all to the glory of God. To the theologian [or the mere Sanskrit grammarian] this is no parallel at all, but to a psychologist like Rhys Davids it is one. Dr. Aiken has not made sufficient use of the Pāli Canon ; and I hope that when his work goes into a second edition, he will avail himself of our present material.

I wish to thank the venerable Ellis Yarnall [1817-1905] who, since 1889, has allowed me to use the Philadelphia (Franklin) Library in his name; and Professor Morris Jastrow, who has been instrumental in giving me full access to that of the University of Pennsylvania.

I also thank all those who have helpt me, not forgetting the fair wielders of that convenient instrument, the type-writer. Many of the present Parallels have appeared in *The Open Court*, beginning with August, 1898. Those headed *Healing the Sick* and *The Mental Origin of Disease* are reprinted by permission of the editor of *Freedom*, a weekly paper formerly publisht at Sea-Breeze, Florida, where they first appeared: December 27th, 1899, and January 24th, 1900.

In the transliteration of Pāli names, I still prefer Neumann's practise of retaining the masculine nominative in o : e. g., *Ānando*, instead of *Ānanda*. As Neumann says, the ending in *a* is neither Sanskrit nor Pāli, but E/ū. My single exception is the name of *Buddha*, properly *Buddho*. But the

former is now an English word. To Neumann's defense of his practise may be added the universal rule of European languages to represent classical names in the nominative case. The first people to transliterate Hindu names into a European alphabet were the Greeks, and they used the nominative case: e. g., 'Ερᾶννοβοας = Hiranyabāhas. Take away the case-ending, and the identification is incomplete. Not only so, but the *o*-termination brings out the likeness of Pāli to Spanish and Italian.(6) Lastly, it is confusing to an outsider to see the *a* termination, for he associates it with the Latin feminine (unless he have the good fortune to know Anglo-Saxon.) Except the name of Buddha, therefore, my Pāli words ending in *a* are neuters, with the terminal nasal elided, or else they are masculines in composition, e. g. *Dīgha*, for Dīgha-Nikāyo. As Sanskrit names have gained greater currency among us than Pāli, I leave them in their contracted form: e. g. Aṣvaghosha for Aṣvaghoshas.

(6) Edwin Arnold has set his seal upon the poetic value of the *o*-ending in the line :

“The Buddha died, the great Tathāgato.”

Had he written “Tathāgata,” the line would have lost its melody. As I am often askt what is the source of Arnold's poem, I may here state that he tells us himself: viz., Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (1853), a work founded not upon Pāli; but upon Singhalese treatises, wherein text and commentary are hopelessly mixt. It is therefore impossible to ascertain the early form of any legend from Arnold, and his work is only valuable as poetry. Hardy is valuable when used with discrimination.

The Four Great Nikāyos are quoted by their English names, thus :—

Long Collection=Dīgha-Nikāyo.

Middling Collection=Majjhima-Nikāyo.

Classified Collection=Samyutta-Nikāyo.

Numerical Collection=Anguttara-Nikāyo.

Other portions of the Canon are cited thus :—

Major Section on Discipline=Mahāvaggo.

Minor “ “ “ =Cullavaggo.

Book of Temptations=Māra-Samyuttam (in the Classified Collection).

Short Recital=Khuddaka-Pāṭho.

Hymns of the Faith=Dhammapadam.

Collection of Suttas=Sutta-Nipāto.

Enunciations=Udānam.

Logia-Book=Itivuttakam.

Birth-Stories=Jātakam.

Statement of Theses=Kathā-Vatthu.

I prefer to quote the number of the Sutta or Nipāto rather than the page of the London edition, because then my references are equally good for the King of Siam's edition, European translations, or the palm-leaves themselves.

Passages quoted from other writers are in the usual type, in quotation marks [except sacred canonical texts, which in the fourth edition are now in heavy type]. The practise of putting interesting matter into small type is not a good one. Italics are used to point out important passages.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a loving tribute,

first to my father, Thomas Edmunds, who died in 1880, and secondly to Frederick Dawson Stone, late Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but for whom this work could never have been done. My father generously allowed me to follow my bent, while it was Dr. Stone who endowed me with TIME, which is dearer to the scholar than lucre, dearer even than life. In garret or in library, my studies have been pursued amid all the vicissitudes of a quarter of a century of human existence. I have often been at sea in my investigations, not knowing whither I was sailing ; but the Gospels, Christian and Buddhist, have been my guiding-star, and the study of them my ruling passion ; while such men as Frederick Stone have made it possible for me to study at all, or even to live. Finally, my motto has been: BUY THE TRUTH AND SELL IT NOT

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania :
1900-1904.

8. JAPANESE EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

It was in the last Spring that a letter reached me from Philadelphia expressing a warm sympathy with my unpublished studies on the Sagātha-vaggo of the *Samyutta Nikāyo*. Albert J. Edmunds, a name before unknown to me, was the sender of the letter. He had a book on the Gospel Parallels from the Pāli Scriptures which found no publisher and part of which the author had published at his own expense. My paper on the Sagātha-vaggo was read before the XII International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, but the research in detail could find no publisher. These circumstances were the first bonds which connected our mutual sympathy. But as our correspondence went on, it became manifest that our sympathy did depend not merely upon these outer circumstances but more upon the same spiritual tendency and the psychical current flowing between us, notwithstanding difference of races and distance of abodes.

My interest in the little book, (1) a partial publication of Edmunds' work, and my eagerness to find out common elements between the Pāli Nikāyos and the Chinese Āgamas aroused in me a desire to publish the whole of the work with parallels and notes from the latter. The book now published is the result.

(1) Anesaki means my second edition (1904).

--A. J. E.

The Āgamas and the Nikāyos, the one translated into Chinese but neglected by the Buddhists of the North for a thousand years, and the other kept carefully by the Buddhists of the South in its original Pāli, meet here again printed side by side in Chinese and in English respectively. It seems to me an undeniable fact that the Pāli Nikāyos and the Chinese Āgamas were derived from the same source. Comparative study of these two branches of tradition will throw some light on the original construction or content of the Buddhist Scriptures, and consequently on their history. If this present edition of Edmunds' work may contribute one brick to the large edifice of further study of the history of Buddhism my labor thereon will not remain without its reward.

As to the relations or relative positions of the two greatest religions of the world, Buddhism and Christianity, there remains much to be studied and to be thought. I shall be contented with saying that they have still their futures and that they must recognize each other. America, the western extremity of Christendom and Christian civilization, and Japan, the eastmost country with a long history of eastern civilization, are now confronted face to face on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. If these two nations could contribute conjointly something to the civilization of the twentieth century, would it not be on the line of mutual understanding between the two religions and the two cultures founded upon them? Europeans will smile at a

thought like this. But I venture to say that the Atlantic Ocean, no more than the Mediterranean Sea, is any longer the lake of the civilized world. Buddha must be recognized in his significance side by side with Christ; Nāgārjuna with Augustin; Tāo-sūen with Francis of Assisi; the paintings of the Takuma school with those of the Quattrocentisti. I wish this publication may give help to the mutual understanding of both peoples, western and eastern, Christian and Buddhist.

It was my thought to print the Chinese parallels translated into English. But most of them are too similar to the Pāli to be translated. I have added some notes to those passages which differ so much from the Pāli as to be noticed. The texts which agree with the Pāli as a whole book, sutta or sūtra, are called corresponding texts, C. T. (2) Those

(2) In the fourth edition, the Chinese characters are omitted, but the following references are to be understood :—

C. T. for the Long Collection means the Chinese Dīrghāgama (Nanjio's Catalog, No. 545), translated by Buddhayaças, A. D. 412-413.

Middling Collection (Chinese Madhyamāgama (N. C. No. 542), translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva, A. D. 397-398.

Classified Collection, Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (N. C. No. 544), translated by Guṇabhadra, A. D. 420-479.

Numerical Collection, Chinese Ekottarāgama

which agree in single passages, but not as a whole, are called corresponding passages. C. P. Besides these two categories, similar passages, S. P. mean those found in different texts and not quite agreeing with the Pāli. Those Chinese words not found in the Pāli are omitted mostly and marked with Sometimes, when these passages are necessary to

(N. C. No. 543), translated by Dharmanandin, A. D. 384-385.

Hymns of the Faith (Dhammapada) translated by several hands, A. D. 224 (N. C. 1365.)

Logia Book (Itivuttaka) translated by Yuan Chwan, A. D. 645-664 (N. C. No. 714.)

The Books of Discipline appear in Chinese in various sectarian recensions, and are indicated separately. It must be understood that the post-Christian Chinese books referred to in my second Preface (1904) are the new literature called Mahāyāna. These Chinese Hīnayāna translations agree closely with the Pāli texts.

The dates given above are from Professor Anesaki's Japanese book on Buddhism (Tōkyō, 1904.) References in our notes to "Anesaki's book" mean this work. His list of Pāli and Sanskrit texts therein is in Roman letters, and the dates of the Chinese ones are in Hindu* numerals.

—A. J. E.

*Commonly called Arabic, whereby we do an injustice to the Hindus, from whom the Arabs borrowed them.

the context, they are printed in square brackets [].
 A line — means a place where ~~there is a passage~~
 in the Pāli but not in the Chinese. N. C. means
 Nanjio's Catalog and the references are given
 after the Japanese edition of 1880-1885 which has
 a very good arrangement of the whole Tripitaka
 (see Nanjio, p. xxvi and Takakusu's Chestomathy,
 p. ii, note 2).

My English was printed as it was written down
 by me. [In the fourth edition it has been revised
 by the Author].

Finally I express my gratitude to the Author
 of the book that he has allowed this edition of a
 life-work of his to be published here.

ANESAKI MASA HAR.

Tōkyō, Good Friday,
 April 21st, 1905.

**9. EXTRACT FROM THE EDITOR'S
LETTER OF TRANSMISSION,
written during the Battle of the Japan Sea.**

Tōkyō, May 28, 1905.

MY DEAR EDMUNDS :

To-day, on our Empress's birthday, I got five copies of our book. Errata will be printed later. I send you one copy as specimen. * * *

The Baltic Fleet is approaching us. Every one is excited. When this letter reaches you, the battle will have been long before fought and our fate decided. Nobody but Heaven knows the fate now. (1) * * *

Yours ever,

M. ANESAKI.

(1) This was Sunday, the second day of the Asiatic Salamis, and the outcome was already known to the combatants.

—A. J. E.

10. THE PĀLI AND SANSKRIT ALPHABET ROMANIZED

Pāli was written before Sanskrit, tho linguistically younger. Two alphabets are used for it in the Asokan Inscriptions, B. C. 250. To-day it is written in the different native scripts of Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia, while the London Pāli Text Society and European and American scholars generally use Roman letters thus :—

VOWELS

a	the commonest sound of A , as in <i>America</i> and in the indefinite article a when not emphatic.		
ā	the vowel in <i>father</i>		
i	"	"	" <i>print</i>
ī	"	"	" <i>machine</i>
u	"	"	" <i>push</i>
ū	"	"	" <i>brute</i>
e	"	"	" <i>there</i>
o	"	"	" <i>cold</i>

PURE NASAL

<u>m</u>	(also written <i>m</i> and <i>m̃</i>)
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CONSONANTS

Gutturals

k	kh	g	gh	ṅ	(The last is the throat nasal, like n in <i>think</i> , ng in <i>thing</i> , in our confused spelling).
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Palatals

c ch j jh ñ (**c** is the English **ch**, **ñ** the Spanish **ñ** in *cañon*.)

Cerebrals

t th d dh n (Also written in italics).

Dentals

t th d dh n

Labials

p ph b bh m

Liquids

y r l v

Sibilants

s h

For Sanskrit, add **ai, au, ç, sh**, a cerebral **l**, two vocalic **r**'s (long and short) and a vocalic **l**.

General Rule.—Vowels as in Italian ; consonants as in English. The cerebrals are approximately as in English, the dentals as in Irish.

II. ABBREVIATIONS

S. B. E. Sacred Books of the East. Edited by F. Max Müller. 49 vols. Oxford, 1879-1904. [Vol. X contains the *Dhammapada* Hymns and the Collection of Suttas (*Sutta-Nipāto*), quoted here from second edition, 1898. Vol. XI, Dialogs Nos. 13, 16 and 17 of the Long Collection; Nos. 2, 6 and 16 of the Middling Collection, together with Buddha's First Sermon. Vols. XIII, XVII and XX contain the Major and Minor Sections of Discipline. All other Buddhist translations in the S. B. E. are of later age.]

Dialogs. Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. 1. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids. London, 1899. [Long Collection, Nos. 1-13.]

Neumann. Die Reden Gotamo Buddhō's aus der Mittleren Sammlung, Majjhima-Nikāyo, des Pāli-Kanons, zum ersten Mal übersetzt. Von Karl E. Neumann. Leipzig, 1896-1902, 3 vols. [The Middling Collection in German.]

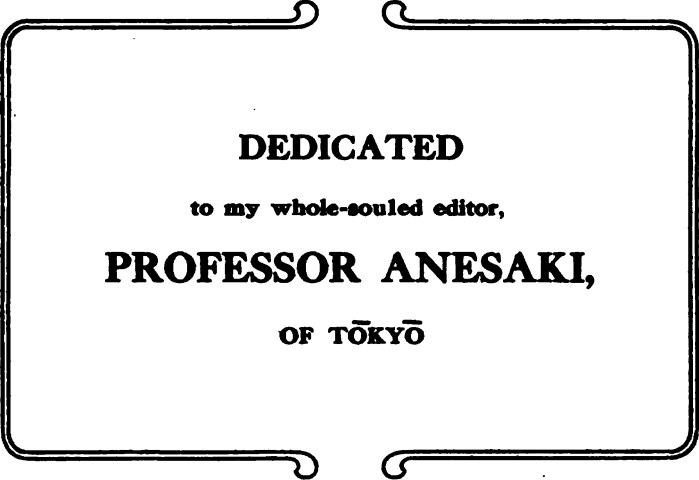
Warren. Buddhism in Translations. By Henry Clarke Warren. Harvard University, 1896. [Contains parts of Long Collection, Nos. 11, 15 and 22; Middling Collection, Nos. 26, 63 and 72; and much from other parts of the Pāli Canon and Commentaries.]

Grimblot. Sept Suttas Pālis. Par P. Grimblot. Paris, 1876. [Long Collection, Nos. 1, 2, 10, 15, 20, 31, 32, in Pāli; with translations, mostly in English by Gogerly.]

Oldenberg. Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order. By Hermann Oldenberg. Translated by William Hoey. London, 1882.

Windisch. Māra und Buddha. Von Ernst Windisch. Leipzig, 1895. [Contains the whole of the Book of Temptations (Māra-Samyutta) in German.]

Open Court. Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts. Translated from the originals, by Albert J. Edmunds. Chicago: February, April, June and October, 1900; January and July, 1901; September and November, 1902; April and December, 1903. See also August and November, 1898; June, 1899. [The whole of Mid-dling Collection, Nos. 86 and 123 are among these, except stanzas at the end of 86. In *The Buddhist*, July, 1901 (Colombo, Ceylon) No. 86 is translated from a Singhalese gloss.]



DEDICATED
to my whole-souled editor,
PROFESSOR ANESAKI,
OF TŌKYŌ

Historical Introduction

I. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PĀLI TEXTS

The unhistorical character of most things Hindū does not apply to the religion of Gotamo. Asoko, the Buddhist Constantine, upon three different rocks, in different parts of India, and in two different alphabets, has engraved the names of five Greek Kings to whom he sent ambassadors: (1) viz., Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander. These five kings could only be reigning all at once between B. C. 252 and 258. The first was Antiochus Theos, who reigned at Antioch from B. C. 262 to 247. The second was the celebrated Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned at Alexandria from B. C. 285 to 247, and was the founder or expander of the Alexandrine Library. The other kings were Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon, B. C. 278-239; Magas of Cyrene, 308-258; and Alexander of Epirus, 272-219. Now, two of these kings were patrons of learning: Antigonus attended the lectures of Zeno the Stoic, (2) and Ptolemy caused

(1) Edict 13. Cunningham: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. London, 1879. Senart: *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*. Paris, 1881-1886. 2 vols. Vincent A. Smith: *Asoka*. London, 1901. The present passage was written before this excellent book appeared.

(2) Diogenes Laërtius, *Vitae Philosophorum* VII. 8.

the Pentateuch to be translated into Greek. His librarian, according to Epiphanius, was anxious to translate also the books of the Hindūs.(3) Asoko declares, in the same edict, that he has made a "religious conquest," not only in India, but in the dominions of the five Greek kings, as well as in Ceylon ; and that in all these countries his religion is being accepted. In Edict 2, he informs us that over the same territory he has caused wells to be dug and medicinal herbs to be planted, for the sake of man and beast. Now the Ceylon Chronicles confirm the inscriptions, and record that he sent Buddhist missionaries into Ceylon, Cashmere, and the realm of the Greeks. In Ceylon the religion has persisted to this day, with all its texts and commentaries; in Cashmere it has dwindled into corrupt insignificance, while in the ancient empire of the Greeks it has left no records, except in monuments and coins in the Panjāb and Afghanistan. These are proof enough that the absence of sacred texts in any country by no means implies that Buddhism was never there. We may therefore reasonably conclude that Asoko's "religious conquest" did at least number some votaries in Athens, Antioch and Alexandria. If, however, the mission was not lasting in its results, it was not the fault of either side. On the one hand was a proselytizing Buddhist emperor, and on the other hand were

(3) Epiphan. de Mens. et Pond. 9. I owe this reference and some others to Estlin Carpenter. (*Nineteenth Century*: December, 1880.) All have been verified.

kings who studied philosophy and translated what they could find of the Sacred Books of the East.

The Pāli Texts were in existence, at least orally, in the time of Asoko. On the rock at Bairāt in Rājputāna, Asoko recommends to the study of monks, nuns and laymen seven different portions of Scripture.(4) The titles of five of these can be identified with certainty in the Sutta-Pitakam to-day.(5) A sixth can be identified with reasonable assurance in the Vinaya-Pitakam ; while the remaining one, which stands first in the list, is entitled *The Exaltation of the Discipline (Vinayo)*. This, as I have shown elsewhere, is probably the First Sermon, with some introductory matter. The peculiar word, translated *Exaltation*, is found in an adjectival form in a stereotyped phrase of the Pāli texts.(6)

According to the Ceylon Chronicles, Asoko called a Council of the Order, whereat the Canon was apparently closed. Its latest treatise, the *Statement of*

(4) Asoko's word for *Portions of Scripture* or *Expositions of Doctrine* is used repeatedly in the Pāli texts to mean a discourse of Gotamo's, and it occurs in one of these very portions selected by Asoko, viz., the *Question of Upatisso* (Mahāvaggo I. 23.) The phrase (with dialectical variations) was long perpetuated, and we find it repeatedly in the late patristic *Lotus*.

(5) Rhys Davids: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1898 ; also *Manual of Buddhism*, edition of 1899, pp. 224, 225.

(6) E. g. Udāna V. 3. For my identification of the Vinaya-samukkamsa, see *The Light of Dharma*: San Francisco, April and July, 1904.

Theses, was then promulgated,(7) while the president of the Council taught Asoko's son the five Nikāyos, the Higher Doctrine and the Discipline: that is, the three divisions of the Canon. The Island Chronicle, which tells us this, is at least older than the fifth century after Christ, while in substance it is centuries older still. Its trustworthiness is confirmed not only by Asoko's missionary inscriptions, as we have seen, but also by the discovery of a sarcophagus at Sāñcī, in the heart of India, bearing the legend: "Majjhimo the apostle of the Himālayas." Now the Ceylon Chronicles state that this very Majjhimo was the missionary sent by Asoko to this region. Other inscriptions, confirmatory of Buddhist Scriptures and records, were discovered in 1897 and 1898.(8) The former, by Asoko, marks the place where Buddha was born, mentioning the name of Lumbinī, which is found in the sacred texts.(9) The other inscription, found in 1898, is older than Asoko, and confirms the Book of the Great Decease on the division of the Sage's relics.(10)

(7) *Pakāsaya* and *desesi* are the words used. I adopt the conclusion of Oldenberg and others, that these words mean "publisht for the first time."

(8) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., 1898, p. 533.

(9) S. B. E., Vol. X, part 2, p. 125.

(10) S. B. E., Vol. XI., p. 132. The statement, in the Pali, that the Sakyas made a mound like the rest, is omitted in the translation on p. 134. See Rhys Davids' note in J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 588. See Anesaki's book, p. 194.

Shortly after the death of Asoko, about B. C. 200, was built the great rail around the tope of Bharahat in Central India.(11) Upon this rail, in addition to Scriptural titles, there are the names of pious Buddhists who are described as "reciters," "versed in the Dialogs," "versed in the Baskets," and "versed in the Five Collections." (12) Of these Five Collections or *Nikāyas* (also called *Āgamas*) four are mentioned by name in the *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit work emanating from a different school from the one represented by the Pāli texts. In Chinese versions the whole four have been handed down in literary form, and bear sufficient resemblance to their Pāli namesakes to show that both recensions have a common source.(13)

The Ceylon Chronicles affirm that the Canon was reduced to writing in that island about 40 B.C., having been transmitted for four hundred years by schools of reciters. Now we have sufficient outside testimony from travelers of different nations—Chinese, Arab and English—that manuscripts were copied in Ceylon from the fifth century downwards. Robert Knox, the Englishman, saw the monks

(11) Fergusson: History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. London, 1876, p. 85. Cunningham: The Stupa of Bharhut (Bharahat). London, 1879: Pillar 85, and Rails 41 and 52, &c.

(12) With the *Sepetakiṇo* of Bharahat, compare the *Tepitako* of *Burando*, p. 19; also *Tipetako* in Buddhaghosa's introduction to the Vinayo, p. 313, and *Tipitakadhara*, *ibid.*, p. 299.

(13) Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, by Bunyiu Nanjio. Oxford, 1883, Column 127.

writing the sacred texts on palm-leaves in the seventeenth century. Abū-zaid, the Muslim, compiling the travels of Arab merchants of the ninth century, uses the remarkable words: "The Kingdom of Ceylon (Serendib) has a law, and doctors who assemble from time to time, just as the persons who collect the traditions of the Prophet have reunions among us. The Indians betake themselves to doctors and write, under their dictation, the life of their prophets and the precepts of their law." (14) Fā Hien, the Chinaman, in the fifth century, spent three years in Ceylon copying MSS., and took them to China. We can therefore credit the chronicles of the island, and trust them when they say that the sacred texts were first written down about 40 B. C.

The schools of reciters, who preceded the scribes, are mentioned in inscriptions of the third or second century B. C. at Bharahat. They also occur in *The Questions of King Milindo*—that book which I call the Buddhist *Irenæus*—as well as in the ancient commentaries and in the Canon itself. King Milindo has been identified with the Greek Menander, who reigned in the Panjāb one hundred years before Christ. The work itself roundly fixes his date at five hundred years after Gotamo's decease. As most ancient Buddhists, except Asoko and the Ceylon Chronicles, deal with centuries and

(14) Abū-zaid, translated by Reinaud in 1845 (after Renaudot, 1718) and edited by Chardon: *Voyageurs anciens et modernes*: Paris, 1869, Tom. 2, p. 143.

not with years, the date in question roughly corresponds to the first century of the Christian era. *The Milindo-Questioning* is quoted by Buddhaghoso in the fifth century A. D., and must therefore be dated between Menander and him. The book itself, when alluding to Gotamo's prophecy that his religion would last only five hundred years, does not betray any consciousness that it had lasted longer, and may be reasonably fixt at the time of the Flavian Emperors. Moreover, the fact that this very prediction has come down unaltered in the canonical Discipline, while it has been changed to five thousand in post-Christian commentaries, (15) is in favor of a pre-Christian origin for the text. When the five hundred years had expired, and yet the religion was making new conquests in China, it became expedient for Buddhist Fathers to add a cipher to Gotamo's five hundred. Returning to *Milindo* we may say that, as the New Testament is immanent in the pages of Irenæus, so are the Pāli Pitakas in the pages of *Milindo*. Before Irenæus (A. D. 190) our quotations from the Gospels are fragmentary and inexact—not enough to prove by themselves that any Gospel existed in its present form; tho, taken together with Tatian's Diatesaron, they prove it by cumulative evidence, especially the quotations of Justin Martyr, who was Tatian's master. In the same way, no Buddhist book earlier than the Christian era and outside the

(15) E. g., the commentary on the Long Collection and the Great Chronicle of Ceylon.

Canon betrays the complete existence of the latter so plainly as do the *Questions of King Milindo*. Then again, by the time of this work, there were several Buddhist Diatessarons, such as the *Lalita Vistara* which, however, may be better compared to an apocryphal Gospel based on canonical ones. *Milindo's* quotations from the Pāli texts are numerous, explicit and exact. Moreover, this work of an unknown Buddhist Father, besides mentioning those versed in the Dialogs, versed in the Discipline and versed in the Higher Doctrine, speaks also of reciters of the Birth-Stories and of each of the Five Nikāyos (collections of Dialogs.)

In the period between the committal to writing, about 40 B. C., and the Christian era, we have an interesting side-light thrown upon the transmission of the sacred books in Ceylon by the following passage in the *History of the Religion* (*Sāsanavamsa*), a Burmese work of the nineteenth century, founded on older sources:—"Thereafter, in the time of the king named Nāgo the Robber, when the whole of Ceylon was vexed by the fear of bad monks, the monks who kept up (literally *carried*) the Three Baskets, went to India. Those monks who did not go thither, but stayed at home, being vexed by the fear of famine, tightened their waist-bands, encased their bellies in sand, and kept up the Three Baskets.

"Then, in the time of King Kutakannatissa, when the fear of bad monks was appeased, the monks came back from India, and, together with the monks who had stayed in Ceylon, they recon-

ciled the Three Baskets with the [recension of the] Great Minster; and when [the two] were made harmonious, they establisht them. Then, when they were establisht, they kept them up well in Ceylon only."

In the book of Discipline there is a document which I will call the Council Appendix. It is found in English at page 370 of Vol. XX. of the *Sacred Books of the East*. Now this Appendix knows of the Second Council of the Order one hundred years after the Great Decease, but not of the Third Council in the time of Asoko. Moreover, it knows of only two divisions of the Canon, viz., Doctrine and Discipline, but not of the third, viz., Higher Doctrine. Now, the last was among the *Antilegomena*, (16) of the Second Council, while, as we have seen, an entire treatise was added to it in the time of Asoko. These facts argue a later date for the Higher Doctrine and an early date for the Council Appendix, which knows nothing about it. The Appendix represents that the Canon was fixt after the death of Gotamo by learned monks who knew certain portions by heart. To those who doubt whether any body of doctrine could be as safely transmitted by schools of reciters as by the texts of conflicting manuscripts, I commend the

(16) *Antilegomena*, i. e. books in dispute, is an early Christian name for seven books in the New Testament, whose canonicity was debated for three hundred years: Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation. We here apply the term to Buddhist books.

perusal of Max Müller's remarks on the memories of Oriental and primitive peoples in his *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*. The Pāli texts inform us that Gotamo's discourses and rules of discipline were learnt by heart and chanted in chorus by his immediate disciples, during his long ministry of five and forty years.(17) The Council Appendix confirms the numerous statements in the older texts by representing that Gotamo's intimate attendant, Ānando, was the great authority for the Dialogs, and Upāli his master of the Discipline. The monks who fixt the Canon under their instruction were careful to *revise corruptions of the text*. (18)

The mention of a Greek kingdom in Sutta 93 of the Middling Collection does not prove any more than that certain dialogs, *in their present literary form*, must be later than Alexander, or even than the founding of the Græco-Bactrian empire about 250 B. C. Now the latter is the age of Asoko, whose Panjāb Edict uses the precise name (Yona-Kambojo) found in the Middling Collection, which has the longer form (Yonaka-Kambojo). We have already seen that the Statement of Theses was doubtless edited in the same age, as it was also re-

(17) See, for example, S.B.E. XIII., p. 305 ; XX., p. 6.

(18) So I translate the words : *Khandaphullam patisaṅkharāmsu*, which Davids and Oldenberg render: "repaired dilapidation." (S.B.E. XX, p. 373.) Childers gives an example of the use of the former word which associates it with Scriptural or textual integrity.

edited in Ceylon in the fifth century after Christ ;(19) but this does not upset the high antiquity of the ancient nuclei of the Canon. Copleston has gone too far in relegating the Book of the Great Decease to the age of Asoko on account of the mention of an Emperor (*Cakkavatti*) and of topes. But the idea of an Indian Emperor by no means began with Asoko or even with Candagutto, but goes back to the Great Epic, and to the earlier parts of it at that. The *Dharmarājā*, or king by right, is an ancient ideal of suzerainty over all India. Then, as to the topes, we know from the Divyāvadāna that, while Asoko built temples to mark sacred sites, yet rudimentary mounds or topes existed thereat already.

From the first Christian century onward a stream of missionaries and translators went from India to China, where they rendered the sacred writings into Chinese. At first the new Mahāyāna works, then in the ascendant, were the favorites for translation; but in A. D. 149 a Parthian prince, probably the son of Vologeses II, who died that year, renounced his kingdom, turned Buddhist, and went to China, where he translated Hīnayāna works. Ancient catalogs credit to him 176 distinct translations, whereof fifty-five are extant. Of these fifty-five, forty-three are Hīnayāna.(20) If we could have these books in a European language and com-

(19) Great Chronicle, reign of Dhātuseno: "Like Asoko the Righteous, he made a recension of the Three Baskets."

(20) Nanjio: Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka: Oxford, 1883, Appendix II.; Beal: Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 7.

pare them with the Pāli, much light would be thrown on the history of the text, for several of his versions are identical with Pāli Suttas. Masahar Anesaki is now engaged upon this important work.

One of the strongest arguments for the antiquity of the Buddhist Scriptures is the known date of the earliest Chinese versions. Samuel Beal, in his *Catena* (1871) thus set it forth :

“The Sūtra named the ‘Forty-two Sections’ which is of a purely ethical character, was brought to China in its present form about A. D. 70. This fact can admit of no dispute, for it is recorded in the annals of the country, and a temple was built in memory of it, an account of which is given at large in a well known and authentic work, called the *History of the Lo Yang Temples*. It is only reasonable, then, to suppose, if this work were so well known in India at the time of the first Chinese embassy, viz., 64 A. D., as to be thought the most proper for translation, in order to exhibit the doctrines of the religion about to be introduced into the country, that it was reduced to the written form in India at an earlier period ; and therefore we cannot be far wrong if we give it an age at least as great as the beginning of the Christian era. But, in the first section of this work, the existence of the 250 Rules of the Prātimoksha, or the Rules of Conventual Discipline, is plainly referred to ; so that we must assume that these Rules were well known and generally accepted at the time of the composition of the Sūtra ; and we are thus carried back to

a still earlier date for the reduction of these Rules to their present number and form." (21)

Much work has yet to be done in critical analysis of the Buddhist books. Our knowledge of them is behind the knowledge of the New Testament at the end of the eighteenth century. After a hundred years of hard work by Pāli scholars, we may hope to arrive at a scientific understanding of the Buddhist Holy Writ such as we are now arriving at as regards the Christian. One of the first things to be done will be to tabulate all passages which the different recensions have in common. This work was begun by Burnouf in 1852, when his hand was arrested by death. (22) He was showing that certain fundamental statements about the life and powers of Gotamo were found in verbal agreement (except for dialectical differences) in Pāli MSS. from Ceylon and Sanskrit ones from Nepal. These MSS. represented entirely different literary works, and yet every now and then both literatures would contain certain passages identically the same. Now, the Tibetans tell us that four rival schools and their subordinate sects recited the Confessional in four different languages, viz., Sanskrit and three dialects. (23) We know from the Ceylon sects named

(21) Prof. Max Müller has shown also that the Dhammapada speaks of the Prātimoksha as an old established code. Dhammapada, § 185, n. [Note by Beal.]

(22) *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*. Paris, 1852, p. 859.

(23) Burnouf: *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*. Ed. 1876, p. 397.

under the last of these four schools that their dialect was the Pāli. Now, when we consider that the Pāli and Sanskrit recensions have been transmitted by rival sects, their fundamental agreements must go back to an antiquity behind both. We will give here in English the first of Burnouf's parallel texts :—(24)

A glorious report like this has gone abroad: They say he is indeed the Blessed, Holy and absolute Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom in conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, an incomparable charioteer of men who are tamed, the Master of angels and mortals, the Blessed Buddha. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge, he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiends and its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples. He preaches his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at its climax, and glorious in its end, in the spirit and the letter. He proclaims a religious life wholly perfect and thoroly pure.

Now, this passage, like all Burnouf's parallels, occurs not once, but many times, in the Pāli Canon. Indeed it will probably be found that all Pāli doublets are fundamental primitive documents. Such are certainly the legends of the Nativity, as I have pointed out before.(25) The best way, there-

(24) Burnouf cites it from the Long Collection, but it also occurs in the Book of Discipline, where it will be found at least twice in English. (*Mahāvaggo* I. 22, and VI. 34, S. B. E. XIII. and XVII.)

(25) Open Court: Chicago, June, 1899.

fore, to begin our proposed tabulation of parallel passages in different recensions will be first to draw up a list of Pali stock passages: then call upon the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan scholars to furnish the corresponding ones in their respective versions. When it is proven that the sects who have transmitted these passages have lived apart and used different languages since the first or second century of Buddhism,(26) we shall then be able to compile with certainty the original New Testament of Gotamo.(27)

(26) I. e. the fourth and third centuries before Christ.

(27) This section of my work was written and rewritten before seeing Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha* (London, 1899.) His valuable preface covers the same ground. The principal point he makes beyond the matter common to both of us, is the use made of the Canon by the *Statement of Theses* in the third century B. C. This early date, however, rests upon traditions which first meet us in the fourth century A. D., and it is consequently contested by Barth and other scholars. We may have to bring down the Higher Doctrine (Abhidhammo) to a later period.

2. PLACE OF THE NATIVITY SUTTAS IN THE CANON

As these accounts have hitherto been suspected of lateness, a special inquiry shall be made regarding their antiquity. The first of them, the *Nālaka Sutta*, is the eleventh out of twelve discourses, constituting the Great Section of the Sutta-Nipāto, which has been declared by two such eminent Pāli scholars as Oldenberg and Fausböll⁽¹⁾ to be one of the most archaic in the Canon. So ancient is it that a commentary on the second part of it is included among the canonical books, and so far back as the second century after the demise of Gotamo, we find this commentary's canonicity called in question by a powerful party at the Council of Vesāli.⁽²⁾ Unfortunately this commentary (*the Niddeso*) does not begin until the third dialog after the Nālaka, so that it does not support the text of the latter. But the Nālaka Sutta is quoted in *The Questions of King Milindo*, while its story is used in the Jātaka commentary and in early patristic poems like the *Buddha-Carita*.⁽³⁾ The Jātaka commentary, in its present form, is not older than the fifth century A. D., but both *Milindo* and the poem of Aṣva-ghosha date from the first or second. The Nālaka Sutta is also mentioned in Buddhaghosha's list of

(1) Oldenberg, *Buddha : Sein Leben &c.* Ed. 2 : Berlin, 1890, p. 223; Ed. 4 : 1903, pp. 234-235. Fausböll S. B. E. Vol. X., part 2, p. XI.

(2) *Island Chronicle* V. 37.

(3) S. B. E. XLIX., p. 10.

contents of the ancient Nine Members of the Canon—another fifth-century document, based upon antecedents of unknown antiquity. The Nālaka Dialog is translated in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X, but the learned Danish translator will not begrudge a new version at the hands of one whose mother-tongue is English.

Our second Nativity Sutta, the *Dialog on Wonders and Marvels*, is No. 123 in the Middling Collection, that second of the Sutta Collections which contains 152 of Gotamo's discourses of medium length. Now, No. 61 of this Collection is among the titles engraved by Asoko upon the Bairāt Rock, already noticed, while the whole Collection existed certainly at the time of the Milindo book, judging from the frequent quotations from it, and even at the date of the Council Appendix, which says that Ānando was questioned concerning the Five Collections. But a more specific witness can be called for our particular Nativity Sutta in the sculptures at Bharahat. On Pillar 89 there is pictured the incarnation of Buddha: his mother, lying asleep, is dreaming of the White Elephant descending from heaven to enter her womb. The legend reads:

BHAGAVATO OKRANTI: (*The Descent of the Lord.*)

Now, the oldest sacred authority for the story of this descent from heaven is our present Sutta, while the added detail about the mother's dream of the elephant is uncanonical: it is found in the

Jātaka commentary.(4) If the commentary matter is as old as the third century before Christ, *a fortiori* the text is.

The Dialog on Wonders and Marvels was first translated by me (tho not very correctly) in *The Open Court* (Chicago) for August, 1898,(5) with corrective and critical notes in November, 1898, and June, 1899. In the latter note I traced quotations from the Nativity Sutta in other parts of the Pāli Canon. The Nativity Suttas, I there said, lie behind the Lalita Vistara and other early poems and commentaries. They probably constituted one of the ancient Nine Members of the Canon called *Marvels*. In the Chinese Āgamas there is an entire section of the Middling Collection with this title, and the sūtra that opens it is this very Nativity legend. (No. 32=Pāli 123.)

Together with the Sambodhi, the First Sermon, the Chain of Causation, the Confessional, the Antinomies of the sophists, and the Book of the Great Decease, the Nativity legends rank among those prime documents of the religion around which all recensions rally.

Moreover a longer form of the Dialog on Wonders and Marvels, is found in the Long Collection, No. 14 (No. 1 in the Chinese.) The portion relating to the Nativity agrees nearly verbatim with

(4) Warren : *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 43.

(5) To the details given of previous notices of the Dialog in English I should have added Rhys Davids' *American Lectures* (1896).

its companion of the Middling Collection. The slight variants are, as Rhys Davids points out in a similar case, the various readings of the school of reciters who transmitted the Long Collection. I have translated this important portion in a separate form. (6)

(6) *The Marvelous Birth of the Buddhas.* By Albert J. Edmunds. Philadelphia, 1899; second edition, 1903, pp. vii + 13.

3. THE DATE OF THE SUTTA NIPĀTO

Fausböll, in his introduction to the first European text of the Sutta-Nipāto, considers some parts of it later than the Christian era, and that the story of Asito has been borrowed from the Gospel of Luke. This introduction was written at Copenhagen in 1885, and much research has been made since then. We are now in a position to show that the Sutta-Nipāto, in all its parts, was already old at the time of Christ. p. V

In Asoko's rock-written list of favorite Buddhist Scriptures (about B. C. 250) is one which he calls Moneya Sute, Discourse on Asceticism. This corresponds to the Pāli Moneyya Suttam. Now, Rhys Davids identifies this with a short paragraph bearing that title in the Itivuttaka, and Oldenberg with a similar one in the Anguttara-Nikāyo. But neither of these was so well known as the Sutta-Nipāto's Discourse on Asceticism, (1) which is connected with the legend of Asito and his nephew Nālako, and is called the Nālaka-sutta. Here I agree with Neumann, who prefers this identification. The Sutta-Nipāto's Discourse contains the Golden Rule and the verse about still waters running deep: it is much better fitted for a popular selection than the pieces proposed by Davids and Oldenberg. The Discourse on Asceticism address to Nālako is re-

(1) This is not its formal title, but titles vary very much, and as its subject is moneyya we are at liberty to call it a moneyya-sutta.

peated in the Mahāvastu, which has been transmitted by a rival school to that of the Elders who have given us the Sutta-Nipāto. In the latter, the story of Asito forms a setting for it. (Vatthu-gāthā, i. e. theme-verses). So we have two parts :

- A. Theme verses (the Nālaka-sutta proper, containing the Asito legend);
- B. Discourse on Asceticism (*moneyyam*).

In A, we have the vision of Asito, the Angelic Hymn on Buddha's birth, Asito's prediction, and his injunction to his nephew Nālako to follow Buddha so soon as the latter should preach his Gospel.

In B, the nephew asks Buddha to explain moneyyam, and except the first verse, the whole sutta is Buddha's reply. A and B are in different meters. B is in the commonest meter of the Sutta-Nipāto and the Dhammapada :—

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — — |
 or
 — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — |

It is difficult to represent it, because of the freedom of the opening syllables, which are allowed to vary. A is in more complex meter :—

— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — |

Professor E. W. Hopkins, in his *Great Epic*,

pp. 275 and 298, calls this meter *Trishtubh* Pāda IX, and says that it is a *mora-trishtubh*. On p. 308, he adds: "The mora rhythm in general is early, being found not only in the Epic, but in the Upanishad and Buddhistic verse." On p. 287, he says of a similar meter: "The form is Vedic." So we need not conclude that the Asito stanzas are modern on account of their complexity. Already, when *Samyutta* V. 79 was written, the monks were warned against turning aside from solid old sūtras to run after *suttantas* "poet-made, poetic, thrilling the heart." (2) And this very text, the *Anāgata-bhayāni*, is one of Asoko's selections. Therefore, in the third century B. C., poetical books were highly developed in the Buddhist Canon.

The *Sutta-Nipāto* is a composite book, made up of five sections of different dates. Two of these sections, the *Pārāyana* and the *Aṭṭhakavaggo*, are repeatedly quoted or alluded to in the Pāli Canon itself. They are evidently older than the formal *Nikāyos*. Altho the oldest part of the *Sutta Nipāto*, they stand last, immediately after the *Mahāvaggo*, which contains the Asito legend. The *Mahāvaggo* and the rest were therefore deemed sufficiently ancient to permit of these venerable relics (the *Pārāyana* and its fellow) being transmitted together with them. (3) The section (which contains twelve suttas) opens with the *Pabbajjā* and

(2) The passage about the poet-made *suttantas* recurs in the *Anguttara* and is undoubtedly ancient.

(3) One of these ancient sections (the *Aṭṭhakavaggo*) already

Padhāna Suttas, poems on Buddha's Renunciation and Temptation. Towards the end, immediately preceding the Nālaka-sutta, stand three suttas found in the Great Nikāyos :—

7. Sela-sutta (=Majjhima 92).
9. Vāsettha-sutta (=Majjhima 98).
10. Kokāliya-sutta (=Samyutta VI. 1. 10).

Sutta No. 8 (the Salla) is a simple poem on the shortness of life, which has affinities with stanzas in Jātaka 461.

Thus, the Nālaka-sutta is in strictly Canonical company, and even if it be a later interpolation, yet the following considerations will lead us to conclude that it was ancient enough for such a setting.

In a book of Buddhist legends called Avadānas is one entitled sūtra instead of Avadāna, thus aiming at canonical rank. This is the Prātihārya Sūtra, i. e., SACRED BOOK ABOUT MIRACLES. It is also embedded in the canonical Book of Discipline of a sect whose recension of the scriptures of Buddhism has been lost in the original Pāli or Sanskrit, but preserved in Chinese and Tibetan. This Book of Miracles relates that Buddha sent forth fire and water from his person, and produced other startling phenomena to confound unbelievers. All sects did not admit the story into the Canon, for in the Pāli Book of Discipline, transmitted by the school of the

knows something of the later Savior Epic, for it contains an allusion to Māro's daughters and calls Gotamo a teacher from the Tusitā heaven.

Elders, at the very point in the text where the legend occurs in the Tibetan version, there is reported a miracle by a disciple which Buddha sternly forbade. However, albeit uncanonical according to the conservative Elders, the story is ancient and appears in Aṣvaghosha's first-century poem, while it is evidently understood in Paṭisambhidāmaggo I. 53. Moreover, it is ranked with the Canonical life-scenes in a Ceylon temple-sculpture of the second century before Christ. According to the Great Chronicle,

“The miracle under the mango-tree”

was graven upon the Great Tope at Anurādhapura, together with the incidents that follow it in the Miracle Sūtra. These sculptures are buried or destroyed, but the extant remains at Bharahat and Sāñci prove that the whole legend of Buddha's early life was already highly developed at the time of Christ.

Now, the Singhalese doctors who admitted this apocryphal story into their select life-scenes in the sculptures at Anurādhapura, excluded it from the Pāli Canon. Yet they included in this Canon the Sutta Nipāto, with its story of Asito and the Angelic Heralds. These birth-legends are also among the sculptures :—

Tusita-purato yāva

Bodhimandaṃ tatheva ca (Mahāvamsa XXX)

The conclusion is, that these legends were already

venerable in the second century B. C., and the Ceylon doctors, who relegated to commentaries many stories which were canonized by other sects, considered these authentic.

As I have pointed out in my essay on *Buddhist Texts in John* (Philadelphia, 1906) the presence of so many birth-stories and other semi-canonical and apocryphal legends among the sculptures at Bharahat and Sāñci gives countenance to the Ceylon Great Chronicle's Anurādhapura list, and clears it from the charge of fiction.

That the Asito story is later than the Great Avadāna (Long Collection, No. 14 of the Pāli, No. 1 of the Chinese) is probable from its absence therefrom. But the whole Avadāna literature is early, albeit semi-canonical. The Avadānas (as a book by themselves) were only admitted into the Pāli Canon by one school of reciters; but their presence in later recensions of that Canon and in those of other sects entitles them to be called semi-canonical. The Realists and the Docetists evidently placed them in the Vinaya Piṭaka, while the Elders and Dharmaguptas placed them in a fifth Āgama or Nikāyo, called Short Collection and Miscellaneous Piṭaka. The Great Council Canon, which boasted that it was free from "the false additions" of the others, had no Avadānas, but only the germ thereof; for in its Miscellaneous Piṭaka was a book called Nidāna, which is described as "circumstantial notes on Pratyeka-buddhas and Arhats, in gāthā." (Suzuki). The same book also appears in the Mis-

cellaneous Piṭaka of the Dharmaguptas, an early branch of the Elders. This carries the book back behind the final schism at the Council of Agnimitra in the second century B. C.

This Miscellaneous (Saṃyukta) Piṭaka was a sort of Fifth Nikāyo appended to the Four Great Āgamas and containing the utterances of disciples. It is a link between the old Canon and the Abhidharma. Its Pāli form even contains a commentary, the Niddeso. Now, this Niddeso is a commentary on the two oldest books of the Sutta-Nipāto mentioned above, while another book, the Paṭisambhidāmaggo, is distinctly Abhidharma. But besides this patristic matter, the Fifth Nikāyo contains the Itivuttaka, once the title of a lost division of Scripture. If the Itivuttaka be not the words of Buddha, nothing is. It always reads to me like attestations made by hearers of Buddha to a magistrate after his death. "This was said by the Lord, said by the Arahāt, and heard by me. . . . Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me." This is the setting of most of the terse and simple sūtras of the Itivuttaka. Now, why should the Miscellaneous Piṭaka contain such opposite elements as this ancient Logia-Book and those patristic commentaries? The answer appears to be that the Itivuttaka was too small to stand by itself, and too simple to be clast with the elaborated suttantas. It was therefore group't with two ancient collections of poems (the Dhammapada and the Sutta Nipāto) in a Fifth Nikāyo. To this

were added such other works as the Church produced before the first committal to writing in the first century B. C.

Let us now consider the story of Asito, which made Fausböll feel that the Nipāto was indebted to Luke.

Anesaki tells me that the Asito legend is lacking in the three texts of the Realist Book of Discipline, and this, together with its absence from Digha 14, as aforesaid, betrays its comparative lateness. But as the Discipline and the Sūtras were already extant in some form when Asoko wrote his list of selections, this lateness does not mean a post-Christian date, but only a post-Asokan one. The legend occurs in the Mahāvastu and the Lalita Vistara, and this not only in the prose, which is late, but in the verse, which is ancient. (4)

The Mahāvastu gives Nālako as the name of Asito's nephew, but the Lalita Vistara gives Nara-datto.

The whole of the Discourse on Moneyya (Sanskrit Mauneya) is repeated in the third volume of the Mahāvastu, where it is called the Nālaka-praṇa. It is connected with the story of Nālako's initiation, but not with the same verses or their legend found in the Sutta Nipāto. This again goes to show that the Theme-Verses and the Discourse on Asceticism are two separate documents.

The present recensions of the Mahāvastu and

(4) (Senart: Mahāvastu, Vol. 2, p. 30 *et seq.*; Lalita Vistara, Cap. 7.)

the Lalita Vistara are post-Christian, but the archaic verse-element is pre-Christian. Now, the story of Asito was in a book which was a precursor of our present Lalita Vistara, and was taken to China in the first century. The following facts are in Samuel Beal's Introduction to S. B. E., Vol. XIX:—

“There is no life of Buddha in the Southern school. Facts connected with his life are found in the different canonical books, and these being put together give an outline of his career, tho there is no single work devoted to the account of his life. But there are many such works in the Chinese collection of books. Some of them still exist, others have been lost. The earliest of which we have any record was translated by Chu-fa-lan (Gobharana) between A. D. 68 and A. D. 70. It was called the

Fo-pen-hing-king

in five chapters. It is lost, but there are quotations from it found in Chinese Buddhist books which indicate its character. In the commentary, for example, of Taou-shih, who edited a life of Buddha by Wong-pūh, there is frequent reference to a work, Pen-hing-king, which in all probability is the book under our present consideration. This we gather from a comparison of these quotations with the text of other works that bear a similar title. For instance, there is a book called Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king, which is stated to be a Chinese version of the Abhinishkramaṇa Sūtra, that is sometimes quoted as the Pen-hing-king, but the passages given by

Taou-shih are not to be found in this work. Neither are they taken from the Pen-hing-king, written by Paou-Yun, nor are they to be found in the Pen-hing-king by Aṣvaghosha. We may justly argue therefore that the commentator, Taou-shih, in quoting from the Pen-hing-king, refers to the work translated by Chu-fa-lan, which is now lost. If so, the book can have differed in no material point from the common legendary account of Buddha's early career. In § 8 the Pen-hing is quoted in reference to the selection of Buddha's birth-place ; in § 11 the dream of Māyā at the conception of the child is referred to. In § 23 there is the history of Asita and his horoscope. In § 27 the trial in athletic sports. In § 29 the enjoyment of the prince in his palace for ten years. In § 31 the account of the excursion beyond the walls and the sights of suffering. In § 33 the interview with his father before his flight from the palace. In § 38 the act of cutting his hair with his sword and the intervention of Çakra. In § 39 his exchange of garments with the hunter. In § 40 his visit to the Rishis in the snowy mountains. In § 41 the account of his six years' fast at Gayā. In § 44 there is allusion to the Nāgas Kalika and Mucilinda. In § 46 the rice-milk given by the two daughters of Sujāta. Here the quotations from the Pen-hing come to an end. We can scarcely doubt therefore that this work ended with the account of the supreme enlightenment of Buddha. It is said that the Fo-pen-hing was in five kiouen ; it could not therefore have been a short abstract, but must

have been a complete history of Buddha from his birth to the period of his victory over Māra. It would thus correspond with what is termed the 'intermediate epoch,' in the Southern records. We may conclude therefore that such a life of Buddha was in circulation in India in a written form at or before the beginning of our era. It was brought thence by Chu-fa-lan, and translated into Chinese A. D. 67-70. M. Stanislas Julien, in the well-known communication found on p. xvii n. of the translation of the *Lalita Vistara* from Tibetan by M. Foucaux, speaks of this work as the first version of the *Lalita Vistara* into Chinese."

Thus far Samuel Beal. Whether we call this first-century translation a version of the *Lalita Vistara* or not, the fact remains that poetical lives of Buddha, containing the Asito legend, were in existence at the time of Paul. These biographies presuppose the older Sūtras: indeed they form a link between the pre-Christian Hīnayāna and the post-Christian Mahāyāna. Over a great part of the South and East of Asia, therefore, and strongly entrenched at Bactra, on the high road to Babylon and Antioch, there was at the time of Christ a well-developed legend that a superhuman Savior had descended from heaven into a human womb, and his birth had been heralded by choirs of angels. They sang to the ear of faith and said that an all-wise Being was born in an Indian town for weal

and welfare in the world of men. If, therefore, there be any connection between this

Manussa-loke hita-sukhatāya jāto

and Luke's

ἔπι τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἁνθρώποις εὐδοκία,

the borrowing is on the Christian side. The phrase, "for weal and welfare among men", applied to Buddha, runs all thru the Pāli Canon, and is too deeply interwoven therewith to be a late interpolation borrowed from a new religion. But the old overshadowed the new, and the rising young faith of the West more likely caught this refrain from the East, if not from Roman hero-songs, such as found in Virgil's Fourth Eclog and on the marbles of Ancyra. But we must never forget that Buddha, if not Zoroaster, was the first to found (5) a universal religion, and the first whose followers believed him to be born for the weal and welfare of the world.

From the evidence before us, it seems likely that the Discourse on Asceticism was composed some time between Buddha's death (B. C. 477) and the age of Asoko (B. C. 250). The story of Asito, which is now attacht thereto, is not so old, but was composed between the time of Asoko and the com-

(5) The first to see the vision was either Micah or Isaiah (Isaiah II. 1-5=Micah IV. 1-5), unless we consider this ancient oracle a post-exilic interpolation. It is curious that in the immediate context of Isaiah (II. 6) the writer complains of the influx of Oriental ideas into Palestine.

mittal of the Canon to writing (about B. C. 40.) When the committal to writing took place, the poem was already ancient, so that we may place it in the second century B. C. It may be as old as the third. B. C. 200 would be a round date for it, and nearer than we can fix most things Hindū. The last two sections of the Sutta Nipāto are older still, and belong to the fourth or even the fifth century B. C., while a great deal of the other sections is of equal antiquity, as Fausböll pointed out in his English translation (1881). A primitive state of the Buddhist society is indicated, and the Pāli is archaic.

4. THE CHRISTIAN INFANCY SECTIONS.

Even tho there be no demonstrable connection between the Buddhist and Christian Infancy Sections, yet I believe the latter to be cast in the same mold of Asiatic legend. (1)

There has been such long communication, by migration, conquest, commerce and philosophy, among the peoples of hither Asia, from the Bosphorus to the Indus, that they may be said to have a world of ideas in common. Josephus hit upon a profound historical truth when he made the Nile and the Ganges the two extreme rivers of Paradise: the region between them has been the cradle of the oldest and greatest religions, and may be called the Holy Land of the human race.

The primitive Gospel tradition begins with the preaching of John the Baptist (Acts I. 22.) This is the case with Mark, the simplest and most archaic of the Evangelists, and even with John, the latest and most recondite. Mark and John relate no Infancy stories. The Acts and the Epistles contain no references to the Virginal Birth. Luke, after his Infancy Section, begins the true synoptical

(1) I do not attempt to repeat the well-known analyses which disprove the historicity of the Infancy Sections. They may be found in English in a concise form in Percy Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica* (London, 1899.) I recommend to every serious reader this true *Eirenicon* and masterpiece of scientific piety. See also *Encyclopædia Biblica*: articles *Mary* and *Nativity*. (London, 1902.)

narrative with an historical introduction (Luke III. 1), very different from his poetical preface, with its loose chronology of the census. Matthew, in the corresponding place, begins with the phrase: "And in those days," after skipping a period of nearly thirty years. Again, the length of the Infancy Sections, (Matthew I.—II., and Luke I.—II.) is out of all proportion to the historical element in the Gospels. One of the striking proofs of the Evangelical veracity is the disproportion between the length of the narrative of the last few weeks of Christ's ministry and the first three years. The Transfiguration, which is placed about a month before the Crucifixion, is related in Luke IX. This means that out of Luke's twenty-two chapters (excluding the Infancy Section) sixteen relate to the Lord's last month, and only six to his three years of service. The proportion in Mark and Matthew is not so great, but it is sufficiently striking (Mark IX: Matth. XVII.). Now, the events of the last month were more vividly remembered because more recent and more startling than the events of the quiet years. It is because the Evangelists were historians, and not romancers, that they related in full what was well authenticated, and in briefer form what was distantly remembered. But the Infancy Sections are out of all proportion to the record of Christ's early years; and, while the main Gospel narrative is supported by frequent allusions in the Acts and Epistles, the Infancy Sections have no such support. One sign of fiction on Luke's

part is at I. 70, where he puts into the mouth of Zacharias a saying which is in Acts III. 21 ascribed to Peter at the Gate Beautiful :

Whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the world began.

This is not an Old Testament quotation, and cannot be found in the Apocrypha or the Pseudepigrapha. On the other hand, Luke asserts, in his Prolog, that he has accurately traced the course of all things from the first, and soon afterwards hints of traditions gathered among the Judean hills. (I. 65.)

We have already adverted to the silence of Mark. But Mark is more than silent : he explicitly rejects the Virginal Birth. In Mark I. 10 we read that the Holy Ghost entered INTO Jesus at Baptism. (See Parallel 5.) Such is the reading of Westcott and Hort, based upon the Vatican and Bezan MSS. Alford, Tregelles and other critical editors agree with them. It is true that most MSS. and all the current English versions have *upon* instead of *into*. But this is due to an early orthodox alteration, like the insertion of the Trinitarian formula and the Baptismal charge in Matth. xxviii. 19. Mark was always a Unitarian Gospel. Witness the "neither the Son," (xiii. 32) which the Council of Nicea found in Mark alone. The entry of the Holy Ghost at Baptism implies that no supernatural Sonship existed from birth. As Rendel Harris has

shown in his article on the Sinai Syriac, the early Christology was Adoptionist. Jesus was an adopted Son, not a supernaturally-born one. Therefore the Ebionite Gospel read at the Baptism the words :

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

These words actually occur in Luke's account of the Baptism in Codex D, and also in Justin Martyr (Trypho 88). Such then is the Christology of Mark. No wonder that Irenæus found Mark very popular among the early Unitarian party. (Hær. III. xi. 7.) That Mark was little read among the orthodox we may see from Irenæus' blunders about its contents (Hær. IV. vi. 1) and from Tertullian's neglect of it when categorically quoting the Gospels (*De Res. Carnis*, ap. Westcott on the Canon, ed. 1889, p. 262.) Any one who will study carefully the matter peculiar to Mark in Abbott and Rushbrooke's analysis will see how numerous are the Unitarian touches in that Gospel—a fact which did not escape Huxley, in his controversy with the English Bishops.

Since the discovery of the Sinai Syriac, in 1893, we know that there were two parties in the early Church, whom we may call the Genealogy party and the Virginal Birth party. The former traced the lineage of Jesus thru Joseph as his father; the latter, like Tatian in the second century, discarded the Genealogies as useless, and knew of no

descent but the heavenly one of John's Prolog.(2)
The Sinai Syriac reads :

Joseph begat Jesus,

which was doubtless the original reading of the Genealogy. That the Genealogies were separate documents from the Infancy Sections is evidenced from the fact that, while Matthew's Genealogy table is prefixt to the Infancy narrative, Luke's is outside of it. Moreover, a number of ancient British manuscripts make Matthew's Genealogy a preface standing by itself, and place after it the words :

Finit Prologus. Incipit Evangelium. (3)

Marcion, the Gnostic of the second century, who revised the Gospel of Luke to suit himself, omitted both the Infancy Section and the Genealogy. He also went further, and omitted the accounts of the Baptism and Temptation, the Prodigal Son and the Triumphal Entry, as well as shorter pieces, among them apparently the single line on the Ascension.(4) Scholars have decided that most of these excisions were arbitrary ; but as he profest to base his revision upon Luke's first edition, and as an earlier edition of Luke has been suspected by

(2) Compare the Eusebian Canons, which collocate John's Prolog with the Genealogies.

(3) Westcott, article *Vulgate*, in Smith's Bib. Dic. See also Hug and Scrivener.

(4) My authorities are Westcott and Sanday. Critics are not agreed about some omissions, but those mentioned, excepting the Ascension, are admitted by all.

modern critics on textual grounds, it is likely that some of his omissions go back to that edition. Moreover, it is significant that his principal excisions are passages which have affinities with the Old Testament and other sacred books, including the Buddhist.

The Harmony of Tatian, dating a quarter of a century later than Marcion, while weaving together the narratives of Matthew and Luke, found no place for the Genealogies, but retained the Infancy Section. Now, according to Epiphanius,(5) the Encratites, who favored virginity, following James the Lord's brother, had books that were written by old men and maidens, and it was doubtless among these votaries that the Virginal Birth found credit. They of course repudiated the descent thru Joseph, and therefore discarded the "endless genealogies," many more of which were once probably extant, besides the two that have come down to us.

The genealogies were derived, says Julius Africanus, from the kinsmen of the Lord.(6) By this we need not understand James the Lord's brother and his compeers, but a later generation, such as those who stood before Domitian and showed him the toil-worn hardness of their hands. Among these people, Jesus was simply the son of Joseph, as in the Gospel of John.(7) Such was the state of affairs until the first quarter of the second

(5) Hær. XXX. 2.

(6) Eusebius, H. E. I. 7.

(7) John VII. 5.

century, when the Gospel was finally edited. Even Justin, however, in the middle of the century, recognizes the existence of the party who rejected the Virginal Birth. The opposite party, however, gained the upper hand, but conciliated the Genealogy party by incorporating the favorite documents of the latter, together with their own opposing ones. In doing this they omitted the ascription of paternity to Joseph, thus causing commentators endless trouble to account for the fact that both lists are traced thru him, and not thru Mary. This method of conciliation by juxtaposing contradictory accounts is eminently Oriental, and I have elsewhere given an example of it from the Chronicles of Ceylon.(8) Paul evidently belonged to the Genealogy party (Romans I. 3); but whoever wrote the Pastoral Epistles (perhaps Paul himself when older, at least in part) was tired of the controversy and was impatient of "endless genealogies" and "old wives' fables." (I Timothy I. 4; IV. 7; Titus III. 9.) I cannot help regarding these phrases as pointed allusions to the controversy in question rather than to the Gnostic Eons and mythology.

The first Church Father who quotes the Infancy legend is Ignatius, in the first quarter of the second century. In the same century the heretic Symmachus wrote a refutation of the story, which is lost. Of its early origin, however, there is no doubt, for the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, which omit

(8) In an article in *The New Christianity*, Ithaca, N. Y., July, 1898.

the Mark Appendix, added by Ariston, the contemporary of Ignatius, include the Infancy Sections as integral portions of Matthew and Luke. If the doctrine of the Virginal Birth has any New Testament basis at all, it must be sought for, not in the legendary preface prefixt to Matthew's Gospel, nor in the more artistic one composed by the non-apostolic Luke, but in the words of the Evangelist John, who took Mary to his own home, and knew the fact, if any one did. In John I. 13, two ancient Latin MSS. and three early Fathers (Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Tertullian) agree in the use of the singular number instead of the plural, thus making that verse a direct attestation of the Virginal Birth :

Who was born, not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. (9)

Even if we read the plural, as the manuscript evidence requires, there still lies in the background of the metaphor the idea of a virginal nativity. Given the Divinity of Christ, in a supernatural sense, and the doctrine of such a nativity falls logically into place. Believers may be spiritually born as of virginal conception, but their Lord was physically so. And we have the warrant of Paul that no man can say Jesus is Lord except in the Holy Spirit (I Cor. XII. 3.) In short, the doctrine of the supernatural Nativity is a matter of faith alone, as Canon

(9) I wrote this before seeing Resch's *Kindheitsevangelium* (Leipzig, 1897.)

Gore has maintained, and it has no support from the science of historical criticism. (10)

Since writing the above, some years ago, I have come to agree with the Prussian Church Council of 1846, that the Virginal Birth is no necessary part of Christian belief. I leave the above sentiment as it stands, however, that the reader may see that my attitude has been conservative, and that I have only been driven from it by facts. A fact which has had much weight is the following document, which I extract from in its chief points. It is an old Syriac chronicle, which makes three things probable:

1. The Virginal Birth story was still in process of formation in the year A. D. 119.

2. Its origin was Zoroastrian.

3. In its pre-canonical form it is quoted by Ignatius of Antioch, who is the first Christian writer, outside the Infancy Sections of Matthew and Luke, to quote it at all. And he quoted it in the same decade as that indicated by the Chronicle as the time of the legend's redaction, and by Eusebius as the period when the Gospels themselves were

(10) Before the appearance of Gore's *Dissertations on the Incarnation* (1895), I had spent some years in a study of the Infancy Sections, and had written an essay which arrived at his conclusions, that is, a belief in the Virginal Birth as a corollary to the Resurrection, but not on any historical ground. I cannot here enter into the side-issue since raised by Ramsay. The futility of basing the Divinity of Christ upon the Virginal Birth is patent from the fact that Mohammed admitted the latter, but fiercely denied the former (*Korān*, caps. III, V, XIX.)

edited.(11) It was also the period of Aristion, who wrote the Mark Appendix, so that the New Testament was still in a plastic state.

**Concerning the Star ; showing how and
thru what the Magi recognized the
Star, and that Joseph did not take
Mary as his wife. (12)**

I will write and inform thee, our dear brother, concerning the righteous of old, and concerning the handing down of the histories of their deeds ; and how, and thru what, the Magi recognized the Star, and came and worshipt our Lord with their offerings ; partly from the Holy Scriptures, and partly as we have found in the true chronicles, which were written and composed by men of old in various cities.

And as many things, which Moses also neglected, are found in chronicles that were written and laid up, so too the history of the Star which the Magi saw, was found in a chronicle which was written and laid up in Arnon, the border of the

(11) Eusebius, H. E. III. 37.

(12) Translated from the Syriac by William Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* : London, October, 1866. The manuscript of the chronicle is placed at the sixth century, and the text, being ascribed to Eusebius, probably emanates from a writer of the fourth. This remarkable document was pointed out to me by Rendel Harris, to whom in turn it had been pointed out by Nestle. Neither of them, however, is responsible for the critical use I have made of it, tho I believe Nestle has written something about it which has not yet found its way to Philadelphia.

Moabites and Ammonites.(13) And this history was taken from the place in which it was written, and was conveyed away and deposited in the fortress of Ecbatana, which is in Persia.....

All these kings of the Assyrians, from the days of Moses to Cyrus the Persian, were on their guard and watching to see when the word of Balaam would be fulfilled and when the legions of the Chittites would issue forth from the land of the Macedonians; and how would be devastated the lands and regions of all Asia, and the city of Ephesus, and the districts of Pontus, and Galatia, and Cilicia, and all Syria, and the spacious country of Mesopotamia and of all the Parthians; and (how) they would pass on to Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, the first of all mighty men, and would wage war violently with the Assyrians, and conquer them and subdue them.....

And when the Persians saw that the word of Balaam had turned out true and become a fact, they were also specially concerned to see when the Star would arise and become visible, about which he spoke, meditating what might perchance happen at its rising, and whence it would appear, and concerning whom it would testify.

And after this Darius, whom Alexander the king of the Greeks slew, there arose King ARSUN, in whose days cities were increast in their build-ings in the land of Syria.....(14)

(13) The association of the Chronicle with the country beyond Jordan connects it with the Essenes or other sects influenced by the farther East; while the association with Persia connects it with Mazdeism.

(14) This refers to the founding, or restoring, of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Edessa, Beroea, and Pella, by Seleucus Nicator. (Note by Wright.)

And from (L)ISCUS to king PIRSHBUR (Pīr-Shabūr?) in whose days Augustus Cæsar reigned over the Roman Empire. And in his days was the glorious manifestation of our adored Savior. And therefore in the days of this PIRSHBUR, who was called ZMRNS, there appeared the Star, both transformed in its aspect, and also conspicuous by its rays, and terrible and grand in the glorious extent of its light. *And it overpowered by its aspect all the stars that were in the heavens,*(15) as it inclined to the depth, to teach that its Lord had come down to the depth, and ascended again to the height of its nature, to show that its Lord was God in His nature.

And when the Persians saw it, they were alarmed and afraid, and there fell upon them agitation and trembling, and fear got the mastery over them. And it was visible to the inner depths of the East alone; and the Persians and the Hūzites, and the other peoples that were around them, knew that this was what Balaam had foretold. And this apparition and news flew thru the whole East: "The king of Persia is preparing splendid offerings and gifts and presents, and is sending them by the hands of the Magi, the worshipers of fire." And because the king did not know where the Messiah was born, he commanded the bearers of the offerings, (saying): "Keep going towards the Star, and walking on the road along which it runs before

(15) Ignatius of Antioch, in his reference to the star, agrees with this passage, and not with Matthew. The story is Talmudic; *so also is the hiding of the infant from the wrath of a tyrant, who slays a slave-child, believing it to be the dreaded rival.* The infant is kept in a cave until he is ten years old. (The Talmud: Selections. By H. Polano. Philadelphia, 1876, p. 30.)

you ; and by day and night keep observing its light."

And when they set forth with the sun from their country, in which this sun (of ours) is born every day, the Star too with its rays was running on before them, accompanying them and going with them, and becoming as it were an attendant of theirs. And they halted in many places, passing by large fortified towns, and (thru) various foreign tongues and different garbs, that were unlike to one another. And they halted outside of the cities, and not inside of the cities, until they reached the gates of Jerusalem, over which the Star stood still, entering and alarming Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and terrifying also the kings and priests.

And when they had entered within the gates of the city, it was concealed from them. And when the Magi saw that neither the kings, nor the priests, nor the chiefs of the people perceived the coming of the Messiah, and the Star was concealed, they knew that, because they were not worthy, they did not perceive the birth of the Son, nor were they worthy to behold the Star.

And when the Magi saw that the Star was hidden from them, they went forth by night from the city ; and at that very moment the Star appeared unto them ; and they went after the apparition of it, until it descended and stood still over the cave of Bethlehem, where was born the Messiah. And in that hour they opened their treasures, and offered unto Him many presents and gifts of offerings, bowing down in adoration before the Messiah, that their offerings might be accepted, and that they might be delivered from the hateful treachery which they had seen in Jerusalem, and might reach their own country without fear, and might carry

back word to those who had sent them of what they had seen and heard.

And when they had made their offerings, and past the night there, the Star too stopt with them above *the cave*.⁽¹⁶⁾ And when they rose early in the morning to set out for their country, it was for the second time running on and going before them on the way, which was different from the former one; and until they had entered their city, it did not quit them, nor was it concealed as on the former occasion.

And when they had entered into the presence of the king who had sent them, they narrated to him all that they had heard and seen. These things too were written down there in inner Persia, and were stored up among the records of the deeds of their kings, where was written and stored up the history of the legions of the Chittites and the account of this Star, that they might be preserved where were preserved the histories of the ancients.

But Joseph and Mary, when they saw the treachery of King Herod and the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees, arose and took the Child, and *went to a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue*; and there they dwelt for the space of four years, during which Herod continued to reign after (their flight). And at the commencement of the reign of Herod's son, they arose and went up from that land, to the country of Galilee, Joseph and Mary, and our Lord along with them, and the five sons of Hannah (Anna), the first wife of Joseph. But Mary and our

(16) The Nativity in the cave is a well-known uncanonical tradition; while the mention of "a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue" hardly comports with Egypt, which was so familiar to the Syrians.

Lord were dwelling together in the house in which Mary received the Annunciation from the holy Angel.....(17) and eleven, in the second year of the coming of our Savior, in the consulship of Cæsar and of Capito, in the month of the latter Kānūn, these Magi came from the East and worshipt our Lord at Bethlehem of the kings. And in the year four hundred and thirty (A. D. 119), in the reign of Hadrianus Cæsar, in the consulship of Severus and of Fulgus, in the episcopate of Xystus, bishop of the city of Rome, this concern arose in (the minds of) men acquainted with the Holy Books; and thru the pains of the great men(18) in various places this history was sought for and found, and written in the tongue of those who took this care.

Here ends the Discourse on the Star, which was composed by Mār Eusebius of Cæsarea.

With this account compare the following from Ignatius, who was martyred about 118, a year before the redaction of the legend. If this were the work of the magnates or leaders of the church, Ignatius would be one of the compilers of the original Christian legend, tho of course not of the present apocryphal chronicle. It is therefore very significant that he is the first to allude to the story.

(17) Here some sixteen or seventeen lines of the Syriac text have been purposely erased, probably on account of some statement which a later reader considered heretical. (Note by Wright.)

(18) My friend, Henry L. Gilbert, Ph.D., Rector of Caldwell, N. Y., tells me that the Syriac word, translated "great men", means magnates or grandees. [This promising scholar was taken from us in June, 1904. His essay on Hebrew Proper Names is quoted in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.]

Ignatius, Epistle to the Ephesians, Cap. 19.

Hidden from the prince of this age were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing and likewise also the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be shouted—the which were done in the quietness of God. How then were they manifested unto the ages? A star shone in heaven above all the stars; and its light was unspeakable, and its newness brought amazement; and all the rest of the stars together, with sun and moon, became a chorus to the star; but itself was transcendent in its light beyond them all; and there was trouble to know whence (came) the newness which was unlike them. From that time every sorcery and every bond was dissolved; the ignorance of wickedness vanished away; the old kingdom was pulled down, when God appeared human-wise unto newness of everlasting life; and that which had been perfected with God took a beginning, Thence all things were stirred up, because there was meditated the destruction of death.

The Arabic Infancy Gospel expressly connects the visit of the Magi with a prophecy of Zoroaster. Even while denying any etymological connection between *Pharisee* and *Parsi*, scholars are gradually accepting the view that the Pharisees, with their doctrine of angels and a future life, were the Persianizing party in the Jewish church, whom the conservative Sadducees opposed. As no *developt* eschatology appears in the Pentateuch, which was the sole canon of the latter, they regarded the eschatology of Daniel, Enoch and Tobit as foreign.

And they were right. The Talmud tells that the Jews brought the names of the angels from Babylon. In the pre-exilian book of Samuel, Jehovah tempts David to number Israel; whereas in the post-exilian Chronicles, the tempter is Satan: Ahriman had entered into Hebrew conceptions during the two hundred years that Palestine was a Persian province. At the time of the Apostles, the presence of Parthians at the feast of Pentecost, the prevalence of Mithraism in the Roman Empire, and the Mazdean influences in the new religion of Elkesai, all point to a continuance of connection between Hebrew and Parsi thought.(19)

In some respects the Christian legend comes nearer to the Mazdean than to the Buddhist. This is especially seen in the Temptation story, so closely connected with the hero-legends of Christ's Nativity and early life. Like Jesus, Zoroaster repulses the Evil One by quoting Scripture; like him, too, he is offered worldly empire to renounce his spiritual career. The Avesta says:

Renounce the good law of the worshipers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as the murderer gained, the ruler of the nations.

The Pahlavi texts have : (20)

It is declared (i.e. in a lost Nosk of the Avesta) that Ahriman shouted to Zoroaster thus: "If thou

(19) In Epiph. XIX. 2, the brother of Elkesai is indebted to a Levite from Susa, who had worshipt Artemis and fled from the wrath of Darius.

(20) S. B. E. XXIV, p. 103.

desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I will give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly existence, as was given to the *Vadākān* monarch, *Dahāk*."

The idea of repulsing *Māro* with Scripture would be un-Buddhistic: Gotamo vaunted that he was independent of the Vedas.

In the Nativity, again, the theistic Mazdean is naturally nearer to the theistic Christian than to the Buddhist. A ray of the Divine Glory (*Hvareno*) enters the mother of Zoroaster, just as the Holy Ghost overshadows Mary. The Buddhist doctrine of *Gandharvas* operating at birth applies to every one, and makes all birth supernatural. Moreover, in the *Pāli Suttas*, there is no virginal birth for Buddha, but only a marvelous one. It is when we get to the later *Lalita Vistara* that the mother abstains from intercourse for thirty-two months, so that the ten months' gestation cannot have been human.(21)

As I hinted in my note of 1898,(22) the Oriental practise of abstinence during gestation may be at the root of the whole doctrine of a virginal birth.

(21) Cf. Virgil, *Eclog* 4; Suetonius, Augustus 94.

Suetonius wrote in the twenties of the first century. His Augustan birth-story has points of agreement with Matthew, *Digha* 14, and the Mazdean marvels. In speaking of the *Lalita Vistara*, I take it as it stands, without regard to statements in other Buddhist books. But see note to § No. 6 in the *Nativity Sutta*.

(22) *Open Court*: August 1898, p. 488.

In fact, in the primitive Buddhism of the Pāli texts, there are two germs of the legend :

1. Abstinence during gestation.
2. The *gandharva* mythology.

The second element appears in the Middling Collection, Dialog No. 38, and is translated in our present work. According to this idea, every human being is born by the conjunction of a spirit called a *gandharva* with the parents at the time of conception. It is possibly at the root of Luke's story about the Holy Ghost overshadowing Mary. We have seen that Ignatius of Antioch was the first to quote the Matthean legend, and that he quoted it in its pre-canonical form. The first writer to quote its canonical form is Justin Martyr, and even he has such uncanonical details as the birth in a cave, the Magi coming from Arabia, and Herod, as "King of the Assyrians."

Basilides, who comes chronologically between Ignatius and Justin, alludes to the Magi and the star ; but we cannot be certain that he is using the canonical source : his reference is too brief. He also is the first to quote the Infancy legend of Luke.

Harnack thinks that the Virginal Birth was based upon a misunderstanding of Isaiah VII. 14 : **Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son.** (23). It is well known that the Hebrew word here is not *virgin*, but *young woman*. And yet the

(23) Harnack : History of Dogma (English translation, London, 1894, Vol. I, p. 100.)

Kantol
p. 433
ālmā

Septuagint has *παρθενος*. May not this rendering have been due to a knowledge of the Zoroastrian myth about the Savior-bearing maidens? Harnack admits that the Jewish Apocalypses were full of Babylonian and Persian mythology, and that the early Christians accepted them, while he insists that the Christian Nativity legend was home-born.(24). But it is highly probable that the mysterious Law-giver of the Essenes (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 9) was Zoroaster, and not Moses, and that thru both Essenes and Pharisees (=Parsees) the Judaism of the time of Christ had been tinged with Mazdean thought.

The question of Luke's use of the Buddhist Infancy legend is part of the larger one of his use of the Buddhist traditions at all, and will be discust below.

Marcion, in the first half of the second century, had a recension of Luke which he accounted genuine, and which omitted certain sections dependent upon the Old Testament and other sacred books. It was the aim of Marcion to clear the new religion of all association with the past, and to make it a revelation from the God of Jesus, who

(24) Early Christianity was free from Gentile myths, says he, "so far as these had not already been received by wide circles of Jews (above all, certain Babylonian and Persian myths)." For a remarkable proof from the Talmud of Persian eschatology reaching Palestine, see the note to our Parallel entitled: "The Great Restoration," No. 83 infra.

was above the Demiurge.(25) But the aims of Luke were broader: he wanted to adapt the Gospel to the votaries of older faiths, on his principle that God had spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began, and that in every nation the worker of righteousness is accepted of him.

(25) According to Albrūnī, however, Marcion and Bardesanes were Mazdeans who embraced Christianity, but mixt it with their former faith.

5. THE POSSIBILITY OF CONNECTION BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND BUDDHISM.

At the time of Christ, the religion of Buddha was the most powerful on the planet. It was still making new conquests, and was filled with the missionary spirit. Its only real rival as a world-power was Mazdeism, which, tho active in the cult of Mithras, was already on the wane. In the Parthian Empire, Buddhism and Mazdeism met, but the history of their intercourse is obscure. Our present business is to inquire into possible intercourse between Buddhism and Christianity.

While the progress of knowledge is, on the one hand, deepening our consciousness of the solidarity of human thought, and forbidding us to set up the cry of borrowing when two legends—a Hindū and an Aztec—are alike, on the other hand, it is teaching us how widespread was the intercourse of the ancients; how persistently they took and gave ideas; and how eagerly they recognized in a foreign divinity the features of their own. To steer between these two opposing currents is not always easy, but our principle should be to regard nothing as borrowed unless proven by express reference, by identity of text or sequence of narrative, accompanied with demonstrable intercourse.

The principle that ought to guide us has been happily express by François Lenormant, in a passage for which I am indebted to Albert Metzger's new

work on the Oriental Origins of Christianity (Paris, 1906). This book was printed at Angers in 1907, and came into my hands too late for notice in the Preface. The following is my English rendering of the words of Lenormant :—

“When we find among two peoples, differing from each other in race and in ideas, the same legend in a similar setting, which does not necessarily and naturally arise from the basic element of the story ; and when, furthermore, this setting is strictly related to the totality of the religious conceptions of one of the two peoples, while with the other it remains in isolation, outside the habits of their symbolism, a fundamental and absolute rule of criticism compels us to conclude that the legend was transmitted from one people to the other in a literary form (*rédaction*) already fixt, and that it constitutes a foreign importation which has been superimposed upon, but not confounded with, those traditions which truly belong to the national genius of the people who received it, but never invented.”

My great critic, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, has quoted from Francis Ribezzo a judgment in accord herewith, which is this :

“FICTIONS LIKE THAT OF THE ASS IN THE LION’S SKIN WERE NOT INVENTED TWICE.”

It must remain for some greater scholar than the present writer to apply these rules to the material before us. Our work here is the humbler one of collection. While the author has riskt an

occasional suggestion of loan when an idea is exprest in strikingly similar terms by the sacred writers of Palestine and India, he inclines to the judgment of M. Metzger and others, that the loan most generally goes back to prehistoric times, when certain peoples now separate were once together. On the other hand, we have said that nations like India, Israel, Greece and Persia, which attained an ancient distinction in the things of thought, and which were assuredly in long communication, must have been influenced by each other, just as (tho with much greater advantages) all Europeans quote Shakspere, Goethe, Kant and Tolstoï.

The antiquity of commerce between India and the West is indicated by the following passage from Sayce's Hibbert Lectures :—

Sayce: Hibbert Lectures, 1887, pp. 136-138. (Condensd by Wilfred H. Schoff, who pointed out this passage to me.) There is now sufficient evidence to prove that at the very dawn of the historic period in Babylonia, maritime intercourse was being carried on between this country on the one hand and the Sinaitic Peninsula and India on the other. The statues discovered by M. de Sarzec at Tel-loh, dated about 4000 B. C., resemble the diorite statue of King Khephren, the builder of the second pyramid of Gizeh, which is now in the Bûlak Museum. The execution indeed is infinitely inferior; but the general style is remarkably alike. Some of the Tel-loh statues are carved out of hard diorite stone—quarried from the Sinaitic Peninsula. [See, by the way, Mr. Flinders Petrie's new book, *Researches in Sinai*]. Egyptian garrisons had held the Peninsula

since the Third Dynasty, and stone was quarried there and conveyed by sea to Egypt and Babylonia; and a school of sculpture had already arisen there. The units of measurement of the Pyramid builders and of the Tel-loh statues are the same.

In an opposite direction Chaldean traders had made their way to the western coast of India. Apart from the existence of teak in the ruins of Mugheir, an ancient Babylonian list of clothing mentions *sindhu*, or "muslin"—the *ṣadīn* of the Old Testament, the *σινδών* of the Greeks. That *σινδών* is merely "the Indian" cloth has long been recognized; and the fact that it begins with a sibilant and not with a vowel, like our "Indian," proves that it must have come to the west by sea and not by land, where the original *s* would have become *h* in Persian mouths. That *sindhu* is really the same word as *σινδών* is shown by its Accadian equivalent, which is exprest by ideographs signifying literally "vegetable cloth."

Until Robert Clive inaugurated the new era of cosmic relations in 1757 (1) by giving India to the English, the greatest name in this respect was ALEXANDER. Among his memoranda, says the Sicilian Diodorus, were several public schemes, such as the construction of a road thru Northern Africa, but none were so magnificent as this:—

"(Hedecreed) that there should be interchanges

(1) Swedenborg was a true prophet when he proclaimed that this remarkable year was the hinge of an eon. He could not have said this by mere political calculation, for the news of the battle of Plassey in June, 1757, did not reach Europe until early in 1758. Before that time the seer of Stockholm had had the vision whereon he based his statement.

between cities, and that people should be transferred out of Asia into Europe, and conversely out of Europe into Asia, to the end that the two great continents, by intermarriages and exchange of good offices, might become homogeneous and establish in mutual friendship.”(2)

The literal execution of this plan was hindered by the great Captain's death, but in spirit it was amply carried out in his city at the mouths of the Nile. Until the translation of the Sacred Books of the East into English in the nineteenth century, nowhere was there developed so active an intercourse between the mind of Europe and the soul of Asia as in the city of Alexandria, from the translation of the Pentateuch in the third century before Christ to the commentaries of Origen in the third century after him. This was made possible by the founding of Myos Hormos on the Red Sea and Charax at the mouth of the Euphrates. The former carried the trade of India to Alexandria; the latter, to Damascus. It was at Charax that the Jewish merchant converted the exiled Izates to the religion of his fathers;(3) and this is only a stray example of what must have gone on continually in these cosmopolitan marts.

Then, also, Alexander took with him to India three thousand Greek artists and actors who laid the foundation of a long intellectual connection be-

(2) Diodorus Siculus xviii. 4.

(3) Josephus, Antiquities XX. ii. 3.

tween Hellenist and Hindū culture.(4) Hilgenfeld has pointed out that Alexandria is mentioned in the Great Chronicle of Ceylon as sending Buddhist monks to attend a ceremony in that island in the second century before Christ. Lightfoot combated this view in his essay on the Essenes, and identified the Alexandria with Alexandria ad Caucasum. Rhys Davids, too, in his *Milindo*, identifies the one there mentioned with the Panjāb Alexandria. But Sylvain Lévi considers both Milindo's city and the one of the Great Chronicle to be the Egyptian capital, pointing out that the Hindū astronomers always call the latter "the city of the Greeks," which is the term of the Chronicle.(5) The associated places in the Chronicle are mostly in India, but Pallavabhāgo is Parthia.

Aristotle was the contemporary and tutor of Alexander, and died within a year of him. He conversed with a Jew in Asia, who came from the region of Damascus, and belonged to a sect in that country that was derived from the Hindū philosophers.(6) This man, said Aristotle, gave him and his com-

(4) Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* 72. *Τεχνίται* means artificers, but includes actors and artists. Plutarch only gets them as far as Ecbatana, but doubtless many went to India: they certainly did later on.

(5) *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*: Paris, 1891.

(6) Josephus, *Against Apion*, I. 22. Clearchus of Soli, the authority here, considered the Jews themselves as of Hindū origin; but allowing for this exaggeration, the fact underneath it probably is, that a certain sect had such an origin.

panions more information than they imparted in return. Now, as Gotamo had given a missionary charge, there is no reason why his monks should not have gone to Syria, even before the mission of Asoko in the century after Alexander. If they did, an historical crux might be solved: the origin of the Essenes. But to this we shall return.

The successors of Alexander were animated by his spirit: Seleucus of Antioch sent Megasthenes as ambassador to the court of Patnā, and bade him write a description of India, while Ptolemy of Alexandria dispatcht Dionysius with the same intent.(7) The court of Antioch patronized Berosus,(8) who translated the sacred records of the Chaldeans, while the court of Alexandria founded the library and began to translate the Old Testament. The description of India which Megasthenes produced became the great authority of the West until after the Christian era. Candragupta, the king to whom he went, was the grandfather of Asoko. Bindusāro (or Amitraghāta) who came between them, kept up the interest of his sire, by sending to Antioch for a sophist.(9) The immortal Asoko set his crown upon this intercourse by introducing the religion of Gotamo to the notice of the Hellenist kings. We have already marveled that these monarchs, Greek and Hindū, who were stretching out their hands

(7) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VI. 21.

(8) Tatian, *To the Greeks*, cap. 36.

(9) Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* XIV. 67. Bindusāro wanted to buy a sophist, but was refused.

towards each other, should have left no further record of their intercourse. The Hindū was anxious to spread a knowledge of his sacred lore, and the Hellenist was anxious to translate it. We shall presently see the reason of the silence.

Passing from the third century before Christ into the second, we come to Alexander Polyhistor, a writer of Asia Minor. In a passage preserved to us by Cyril of Alexandria, this author shows a knowledge of Buddhism in Bactria, calling the religious men there by the well-known name of *Samanos*. In a passage of Clement of Alexandria, (10) Polyhistor's work on India is also quoted, and in the immediate context Clement describes the naked ascetics who venerate the truth (i. e. *Dhammo*). These were the Jains or other sects, but not Buddhists. Clement goes on to describe the pyramidal topes, which contained the bones of a God. These were probably Buddhist. *Samanos* (σεμνοί) may be either Buddhists, Jains or other non-Brahmin sects. In the second century before Christ, we also meet with Hindū mahouts on the elephants of the Syrian army. (1 Macc. VI. 37.)

In the same century (about B. C. 110) the Greek king Menander (in Pāli Milindo) who reigned in the Panjāb, had a celebrated discussion with the Buddhist sage Nāgaseno, preserved to us in *The Questions of King Milindo*, (11) translated in the

(10) Stromata III. 7.

(11) N. C. No. 1358.

Sacred Books of the East. This great work of Buddhist patristics (the Buddhist Irenæus we may call it; for just as the New Testament is first immanent in the pages of Irenæus, so are the Pāli Piṭakas in the pages of *Milindo*)—this work shows us that Hindū philosophy, both Buddhist and Brahmin, was inquired into by intelligent Greeks. It shows us that schools of reciters, at the time of Christ, were keeping up the Pāli Canon.⁽¹²⁾ Each Collection of the Dialogs had its own professors, who knew it by heart. There were also special reciters of the Jātakas.

Passing now into the first century before Christ, we come to the Indian embassy to Augustus, mentioned by Horace as a recent event in his Ode on the secular games in B. C. 17. A member of this embassy, says Strabo, burnt himself to death in a public place in Athens, and an epitaph was written over his ashes, which called him Zarmanochegas, i. e. *śramanācāryas*, "teacher of the philosophers," a name which has been perverted by writers who did not understand Lassen's German transliteration. (I give the recognized European one of to-day). We must remember that the Greek *r*=*y*, not *g*. Note also that the final *s* is the proper nominative ending, tho we generally omit it, and write *śramanācārya*. As the Buddhists were forbidden to commit suicide, this ascetic perhaps belonged to another Hindū sect. At the same time, Buddhists

(12) *Milindo*, pp. 341, 342.

did commit suicide, and in spite of the formal prohibition, Gotamo himself condoned the suicide of Godhiko and others, while in the seventh century we find I-Tsing protesting against Buddhists taking their lives and burning their fingers. Lightfoot considered that Strabo's hero is alluded to by Paul in 1 Corinthians XIII. 3:

If I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing.

We now come to the time of Christ, when Strabo saw a hundred and twenty ships ready to sail from the Red Sea to India.(13) The apostle Thomas, according to Christian tradition, preached to King Gondophares, who reigned on the Indus, and whose coins are still to be seen. Not only so, but coins of all the Roman Emperors, from Augustus to Hadrian, are in the museum at Madras.(14) The Acts of Thomas are therefore not all invention: Gondophares was a real king. Von Gutschmid, in 1864,(15) suggested a connection between the Acts of Thomas and Buddhist missionary tales; but the parallels he drew were rather vague. There is no need to say that the lion of the Thomas-legend is the Lion of the tribe of Sākya, when it may just as well be the Lion of the tribe of Judah. Incited by Rendel Harris, I have searched those Acts for more distinct traces of Buddhist influence, and he seems

(13) Geography ~~H. V. 111.~~

(14) Rae: Syrian Church in India. Edin., 1892, p. 22.

(15) Apud Sylvain Lévi: Journal Asiatique, 1897.

to think I have found some. In a prayer which is present in certain recensions, the Apostle addresses the Holy Spirit by the un-Christian title of "presbyter of the five members," which are :

Intelligence
Thought
Purpose
Reflection
Reasoning

Now, Nos. 1-3 correspond to the first three of the Buddhist *members of wisdom*, which occur so frequently in the Pāli texts.(16) The last two are also Buddhist (*vitakka-vicāro*). The basis of the Acts of Thomas is Christian, and the Buddhist element is subordinate, but it is there. The miracles of healing are Christian, for, beyond a few cases of mind-cure, I know of none such in the Pāli Canon. On the other hand, the title, "good Physician," applied to Christ, is Buddhist, not Christian. This epithet, which is popular among Christians to this day, is nowhere in the New Testament, but is found in the Buddhist Canon.(17)

Besides the Acts of Thomas there is a Gospel of Thomas. Tho neither of these books belongs

(16) E. g., in the Book of the Great Decease. An entire section of the *Saṃyutta Nikāyo* is also devoted to them (*Bojjhango*.)

(17) *Sutta Nipāto* 560; *Itivuttaka* 100. "Incomparable physician," is the exact phrase. (Cf Anesaki's book, pp. 212-213).

to the first century, wherewith we now are dealing, it is convenient to treat them here, for the sake of their feigned apostolic author and his supposed connection with India. The Gospel of Thomas, like his Acts, contains a probable Buddhist element; for we find therein the same legend as in the Lalita Vistara, how the spiritual hero showed a knowledge of the alphabet when a master attempted to teach him. This story in both Buddhist and Christian apocrypha (for the Lalita Vistara is a Buddhist *apocryphon*) belongs to the same sphere of folk-lore. If there is borrowing, it is on the Christian side: the Lalita Vistara is a book of Indian antecedents and of Indian development. Tho the present Sanskrit MSS. of it have all been transcribed since the Christian era, yet Beal has pointed out a Chinese life of Buddha translated in the first century which, if not identical with the Lalita Vistara, is closely akin. (See p. 85 above.)

In the first century, or perhaps in the second, there reigned in the valley of the Indus the Buddhist emperor Kanishka, whose famous Council did so much to give political prestige to patristic Buddhism. One of this monarch's coins, which has come down to us, actually has on it the image of Buddha, with his name in Greek letters: (18)

BO△△O.

Wherever this coin circulated the name of

(18) Percy Gardner: Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India: London, 1886.

Buddha would be known, and many a Greek may have seen it for the first time thereupon.

In the first century also (the reign of Claudius) the naturalist Pliny met with ambassadors from Ceylon.(19) This embassy arose from the circumstance that a Roman voyager was driven to that island by a storm, and stayed there six months. As he *learnt the language*, he must have gotten to know something about the religion. Now, Pliny understood from his informants that Hercules was worshipt in the island. As the Greeks and the Romans always endeavored to express the names of foreign deities by equivalents among their own, Hercules in this case probably means Buddha. Moreover, the Singhalese told the Romans that there were five hundred towns in their island. Now, five hundred is a favorite round number in the Pāli texts, and merely means a goodly quantity. There is no proof that the Ceylon ambassadors were Brahminizing Tamils, as Priaulx and Lightfoot maintained, and that Pliny's Hercules was Rāma. Hercules is both human and divine enough to be an equivalent for Gotamo. The islanders drest like Arabs, and traded with the Cheras of Southern India ("Seres" being probably a scribal blunder, says Kennedy).

In the latter part of the first century flourisht Dion Chrysostom who, in an oration to the Alexandrians, reminded them that in their cosmopolitan

(19) Nat. Hist. VI. 24.

city were to be found *Bactrians* and Scythians, Persians and *Hindus*. He also has a discourse on a Libyan fable. Now, Jacobs has shown that these very Libyan fables were akin to the Hindū, and that a number of them found their way into the Talmud.(20) Their Hindū origin is proved by the fact that, of those found in Hindū, Greek and Hebrew forms, the *Hebrew form agrees with the Hindū against the Greek*. The first of these Talmudic fables which can be dated is the Lion and the Crane, in the Great Commentary on the Pentateuch: it was told by a Rabbi in A. D. 118. Rabbi Meir, in the second century, was the last of the Talmudic fabulists: he knew three hundred "fox-fables." Now, the fables collected by Babrius in the third century from Esopic and Libyan sources appear to have been three hundred in number. Rabbi Jochanon, in the first century, is said to have known both the fox-fables and the Libyan fables (*Mishle Kobsim*). There is no need to make the Ceylon embassy the channel whereby these stories got into Palestine: there was intercourse enough without that. The discovery of the monsoons, in the middle of the first century, together with the unsettled state of Parthia, increast the Indian trade of Alexandria. In this century or the next was written

(20) *Æsop's Fables*. Edited by Joseph Jacobs. London, 1889. Hermann Jacobi (S. B. E. XLV. p. xli) has pointed out that the Jain version of the Parable of the Talents originated in India, not in Palestine. See also Carus in *Open Court*, March, 1905.

The Periplus of the Red Sea, a manual of Egyptian trade with India ; while in the middle of the second century the Geography of Ptolemy showed a knowledge of Asia, to the confines of the Chinese Empire. At the foot of the Bolor Tagh Ptolemy marks a trading-post where business was done with the Seræ or Seres.(21)

Who were the Seres? The learned researches of Lassen and Reinaud make it clear that they were the inhabitants of the Chinese Empire. According to these scholars, the name is neither geographical nor ethnological, but commercial, and means *the Silk People*. But the term was used with great latitude, and is also associated with India. In the Jātaka Book there is an Indian country called Seri,(22) while even to-day there is a region and a town of Sirikul in the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, just north of Cashmere. There is also a dialect in Sindh called Siraiki. A mixt caste or people, the Sairandhras (also corrupted into Sairindhra) are mentioned by the Hindū geographer Varāha Mihira, of the sixth century A. D. This term apparently means Seres and Andhras, or Seres subject to the Andhra dynasty, which arose in the

(21) The Seres are mentioned by Virgil (Georgics II. 121) and by Horace. The latter (Carm. I. 12) has "Seras et Indos," thus recognizing their difference yet contiguity. For the classical references generally, see Lassen, Vol. I. p. 320.

(22) Jātaka 3. The Telavāha of the Jātaka is probably the Tel, a tributary of the Mahanadi, and still an oil-bearer, as the name implies.

Dekhan, conquered Magadhā in B. C. 26, and ruled India until A. D. 430.(23) Cunningham places the Sairandhras east and south of the Satlaj, in the modern Sarhind. It is the region where the Satlaj and the Jamna nearly meet.

Now, Fā-hian,(24) in the fifth century, describes an idyllic people, who were governed without capital punishment, were vegetarians and abstainers from wine; and he places them to the south of this region of Sarhind.(25) This is the famous Middle Country of the Brahmins.(26) Onesicritus, a companion of Alexander in the fourth century before Christ, described the Musicani, a similar people.(27) They had gold and silver mines, yet did not use those metals: so also Fā-hian's Middle-Country men used cowries. Now Buddha forbade the use of gold and silver to monks,(28) and if his religion became earnestly adopted by a State, it is easy to see how the prohibition would extend to the laity. Even the laity were forbidden to deal in slaves,(29) and Onesicritus says the Musicani had none.

(23) Dutt: *Ancient India*: London, 1893, p. 118.

(24) *Ancient Geography of India*: London, 1871.

(25) Fā-hian, Cap. 16.

(26) To be carefully distinguished from the Middle Country of the Buddhist Book of Discipline.

(27) Strabo, *Geog.* XV. I. 34.

(28) *Pātimokkha* (S. B. E. XIII, p. 26.)

(29) *Anguttara Nikāyo*, V. 177. Translated by me in leaflet form (Philadelphia, 1900).

Again, the Clementine Recognitions, in the third Christian century, have a like idyllic description of the Seres, in a passage ascribed to the school of Bardesanes, a Syrian Christian, 200 A. D., who is credited with a work on the Indian Gymnosophists.(30) The Musicani, the Sairandhras and the Middle-Country-men are some hundreds of miles apart, but they are all in the region bounded by the Indus, the Jamna, and the Vindhya Mountains. As the classical writers spoke loosely, and as the same people could change their location, or the same name be more widely applied, or the same civilization be extended in its influence, the three writers in question,—a Greek of the fourth century before Christ, a Christian of the third century after him, and a Chinese Buddhist of the fifth,—may all be describing the same folk.

Pliny, in the first century, apparently makes the Seres the Chinese, describing their situation in North-Eastern Asia, after passing the wastes and savages of Siberia.(31) Their manners are mild and they shun intercourse with strangers. They are doubtless the same as the Seræ described to Pliny by the ambassadors from Ceylon as dwelling beyond the Emodian Mountains, and having no proper language, but only uncouth sounds: they

(30) Nathaniel Larder, Works: London, 1788, Vol. 2, p. 299. Our quotation, about to follow, is taken from *The Laws of Countries*, the Syriac text of which was found by Cureton. There is a French translation by Nau. (Paris, 1899.)

(31) Nat. Hist. VI. 20.

also are reserved in their intercourse.(32) The cotton-tree of the Seres is apparently mentioned by Pliny. Now, cotton was a Hindū product, and the Sanskrit word for it, *karpāsa*, was borrowed by the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans. Tho known in China as a garden plant, it was not raised there for trade until the Tartar conquest in the thirteenth century.(33) The Seres, with their cotton-plant, would therefore be a Hindū people; but the western nations confused cotton and silk. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, who, following Ptolemy, places the Seres in Chinese Turkestan, mentions the silk (*sericum*) there, and says that silk, formerly worn only by nobles, was now used by the lowest.(34) He probably means

(32) Ibid., VI. 24. The Seres north of the Himālayas are of course the true ones, not to be confounded with the Cheras mentioned above (p. 123).

(33) The Cotton-Plant. (U. S. Department of Agriculture: Washington, 1896, p. 20.)

(34) Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII. 6. See also Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, articles *Emodi* and *Æchardes*, which are much clearer than the article *Serica*.

Gerini, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., 1897, also identifies the *Æchardes* with the Tarim, tho he extends it to the Hwangho, which the Chinese believed to have underground connection with the Tarim. The name *Æchardes* appears to survive in the name Ukiat (French Oukiat) a tributary of the Tarim, also called the Shakh-yar-daria. (Vivien St. Martin, appendix to Julien's Hiouen Thsang, Vol. 3, p. 265). It appears to me that the name of the Auxasian Mountains, one of the three sources of the *Æchardes*, is preserved in the modern Ak-su, and Gerini evidently agrees with this, for he identifies these mountains with the Tien-Shan, just north of Ak-su and Harashar.

cotton, for it seems that silk was not known here so early.(35) This country is the true home of the Seres. It is described by the Chinese pilgrims as zealously Buddhist. The names of the mountains and rivers given by Ptolemy and Ammianus identify Serica with Chinese Turkestan beyond a doubt.

But ancient authors speak of Seres not only in Turkestan, but in China and in Parthia; for Hippolytus tells us that Elkesai got his mixt religion "from Seres of Parthia."(36) Now, what class of men, of Hindū origin, were to be found in all these places?(37) Answer: Buddhists. It is to be noted that Pliny is the first to find them (as we presume) in China, whither they went in the sixties of the first century. Pliny wrote in the seventies. But Buddhists were known in the Chinese Empire before the time of Christ; and after all, Pliny may not have been describing Siberia and China, but regions further south.

I will now transcribe the three descriptions of Buddhist civilization already mentioned, using the current translations.

Strabo (quoting Onesicritus) says this : (38)

He expatiates also in praise of the country of Musicanus, and relates of the inhabitants what is

(35) Klaproth and Reinaud: *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1863, p. 126.

(36) Hippolytus: *Haer* IX. 8.

(37) Pausanias (VI. 26) reports an opinion that the Seres were a mixture of Scythians and Hindūs.

(38) *Geography* XV. i. 34. Cunningham places the

common to other Indian tribes, that they are long lived, that life is protracted even to the age of one hundred and thirty years: (the Seres, however, are said by some writers to be still longer lived); that they are temperate in their habits and healthy, altho the country produces everything in abundance.

The following are their peculiarities: to have a kind of Lacedemonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold or silver, altho they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedemonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war and the like, to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice.

Such are the accounts of those who accompanied Alexander in his expedition.

Musicani on the eastern bank of the Indus, in latitude $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North.

Estlin Carpenter has pointed out to me that there is mention of a Hindû settlement in Babylonia in the cuneiform texts, but Albert T. Clay tells me that the reading is uncertain. Another Philadelphia scholar, however, William J. Hinke, quotes Rawlinson's *Inscriptions of Western Asia* (Vol. II. 53, 7 b) and Strassmaier's *Darius* (379: 32) as confirming the fact that there was a town called Hindâmi "on the other side of the Euphrates," but whether it means a settlement of Hindûs we cannot yet say.

The *Clementine Recognitions* say this : (39)

There are, in every country or kingdom, laws imposed by men, enduring either by writing or simply thru custom, [which no one easily transgresses. In short, the first] Seres,(40) [who dwell at the beginning of the world,] (41) have a law not to know murder, [nor adultery,] nor whoredom, and not to commit theft, and not to worship idols; and in all that country, which is very large, there is neither temple [nor image,] nor harlot nor adulteress, nor is any thief brought to trial. But neither is any man ever slain there; and no man's liberty of will is compelled, according to your doctrine, by the fiery star of Mars, to use the sword for the murder of man; nor does Venus, in conjunction with Mars, compel to adultery, altho of course with them Mars occupies the middle circle of heaven every day. But amongst the Seres the fear of laws is more powerful than the configuration(42) of *genesis*.

There are likewise amongst the Bactrians, in the Indian countries, immense multitudes of Brahmins, who also themselves, from the tradition of their ancestors and peaceful customs and laws, neither commit murder nor adultery nor worship idols,(43) nor have the practise of eating animal

(39) Clem. Recog. IX. 19.

(40) Eusebius omits. (Ev. Præp. VI. 10.)

(41) Eusebius transposes, with different meaning, and has not "who dwell." The words in brackets that follow are omitted by him.

(42) Latin, *constellatio*.

(43) Latin, *simulacra*. Above, it is rendered "image," while the word "idols" is *idola*. Cf. Arrian, Indica 10: "The

food, are never drunk, never do anything maliciously, but always fear God. And these things indeed they do, tho the rest of the Indians commit both murders and adulteries, and worship idols and are drunken, etc.

The passage about the Seres, if not borrowed from the school of Bardesanes, may come from the companions of Alexander, like the story in Strabo. But the ensuing account of the Bactrians must be of later date, for the Bactrian Buddhists are evidently meant, and Buddhism entered Bactria under Asoko, in the third century B. C. The following passage, in the Clementine Recognitions, is from a part of the work not ascribed to Bardesanes : (44)

The Seres, because they live chastely, are kept free from all [evils]; for with them it is unlawful to come at a woman after she has conceived, or while she is being purified. (45) No one there eats unclean flesh, no one knows aught of sacrifices: all are judges to themselves according to justice.

The Buddhists have always been non-sacrificial, and in their first five hundred years they made no idols. It was for this reason that Celsus, in the second century, called the Seres atheists (*'αθεοι*). (46) But

Hindūs make no monuments to the deceased." This refers to *μνημεια*, or ornamental sepulchers: it does not preclude the rudimentary primeval topes.

(44) Clem. Recog. VIII. 48.

(45) Compare the conduct of Buddha's mother (*Digha* 14 and *Majjhima* 123). The Essenes also practised it. (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 13.) The Hindu Law-book of Vishnu enjoins it. (LXIX. 17).

(46) Origen, Contra Celsum VII. 62.

such a character has never belonged to the religion of China, whether ancient or modern : the Chinese have sacrificed animals from remote antiquity, and their ancestral tablets are ornamented with images of monsters. That the Seres were Buddhists there can be no doubt ; and the above passages constitute *an early Christian eulogy of Buddhism.*

Even four hundred years after Christ, when images were common, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim could write thus : (47)

All south from this [Mathurā and the Jamna] is named the Middle Kingdom. In it the heat and cold are finely tempered, and there is neither hoarfrost nor snow. The people are numerous and happy ; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules. Only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay (a portion of) the gain from it. If they want to go, they go ; if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or (other) corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances (of each case). Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries. Thruout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the *Candālas*. This is the name for those who are (held to be) wicked men, and live apart from others. When they enter the gate of a city or a market-place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men

(47) Fa Hian, Cap. 16, Legge's translation, 1886.

know and avoid them, and do not come into contact with them. In that country they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the markets there are no butchers' shops and no dealers in intoxicating drinks. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries. Only the *Candālas* are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat.

Much commentary will yet be made upon these remarkable passages. They exhibit a true and consistent picture of Buddhism in its palmy days.(48) They are confirmed by Pliny's description of Ceylon in the first century : (49) he says they had neither slavery nor lawsuits; the king was elective and liable to impeachment and even death. Capital sentences generally, however, could be appealed from to a jury of seventy.

Ever since the Chinese arms were pushed to the Bolor Tagh in the second century before Christ, there has been intercourse between the Chinese and the Parthians or the Persians; (50) and between the Chinese and the Hindūs longer still. But what immediately concerns us is the intercourse of the

(48) The influence of Buddhism on civilization has been well treated by James Emerson Tennent in his standard work on Ceylon (London, 1859). The artificial lakes or reservoirs of Ceylon are among the wonders of the world.

(49) Nat. Hist. VI. 24, quoted before.

(50) Beal : Buddhism in China: London, 1884, p. 45.

It is significant that the Septuagint should have *Persians* in Isaiah XLIX 12, as a translation of *Sinim*. If Sin were really China, it would only be known through a Bactrian or Persian medium.

There is a valuable work, *China and the Roman Orient*, by F. Hirth (Shanghai, 1885.) It has been pointed out to me by

Greeks and Romans with the East. Fergusson has shown that, after the conquests of Alexander, there was a continual march of Greek art across the continent of Asia. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Hellenists were carving statues of Buddha in Bactrian monasteries, and the Acts of Thomas represent that a Hindū agent came to Palestine to seek for artificers. This Græco-Indian art was centered in the city of Taxila in the Panjāb, which is often mentioned by Greek writers ; while, according to Hindū ones, it was a seat of universal learning. How often, in the Jātaka tales, is the Bodhisat educated at Taxila !

I will not be so bold as to associate the Essenes with Buddhists, though Beal's identification of 'Εσσηνοί, 'Εσσηαιοί, with *Isino*, *Isayo*, the two plural forms of a common Pāli term for a Buddhist, is very tempting.(51) I have found both of these forms in the *Samyutta Nikāyo*. If ever Essenism had a Buddhist element in it, it was certainly overlaid with others, notably Mazdean. The names of the angels and the books that the Essenes might not com-

my friend Wilfred H. Schoff, secretary of the Philadelphia Museums, and he tells me that Chinese silk and other products were carried overland to the head of the Persian Gulf. At the time of Christ this trade was in the hands of the Parthians, who craftily had kept it from the Chinese by telling them that the route was dangerous. Direct trade between Rome and China began under Marcus Aurelius, called in the Chinese Annals An-tun (Antonine). A Chinese ambassador had described the eastern Roman Empire in A. D. 97.

(51) Abstract of Four Lectures : London, 1882, p. 163.

municate could not be from genuine Buddhism, which is exoteric and non-magical. The lawgiver whom Josephus says they honored was probably Zoroaster.(52)

The Essenes had a doctrine of pre-existence, but not of transmigration. Now, pre-existence without transmigration is Mazdean. This confirms Lightfoot's position, that Mazdeism influenced the Essenes. Philo's description of them, in his essay *On the Virtuous being also free*, has the same mixture of non-Buddhist and quasi-Buddhist practises. Philo associates the Essenes with the Hindū gymnosophists; not, however, as having a common origin but as both exemplifying the freedom of virtue. For this reason, viz., that the emancipated human spirit in all ages, when establishing a society, is liable to do the same things, we cannot predicate a connection between Essenism and Buddhism as proven, but only as possible. The possibility is heightened by two things: (1) the connection reported by Aristotle between a Jewish sect near Damascus and the Hindū philosophers; and (2) the persistent efforts, in the second and third centuries after Christ, on the part of heresiarchs (Elkesai and Mānī) to frame an eclecticism out of Mazdeism and Buddhism. Why should not this tendency reach back further than Mānī and Elkesai, and recede even to the times of Thomas and Matthew, of Ptolemy and Asoko, of Aristotle and Alexander?

We now come to Elkesai. Hippolytus tells us

(52) Josephus, Wars, Book II. viii. 7.

that this teacher's book was obtained "from Seres of Parthia." (53) This was at the end of the first century, the year 100 being referred to as the opening of a new era. Now, Elkesai's book taught that Christ was repeatedly incarnate—a thoroly Buddhist idea; and we have already seen that Seres are Buddhists. But Elkesai's baptism and angelology are more likely Mazdean. (54)

Without going to so late an age as that of Mānī (third century) or, later still, to the Pahlavi version of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, we may find earlier traces of religious eclecticism in the Persian or Parthian Empire. The predecessor of Mānī called himself Terebinthus and Buddha, and gave out that he was born of a virgin. (55) He traveled among the Persians who were settled in Babylonia. His doctrine of a virginal birth was either late Buddhist or else Mazdean. It is the Saviors of Mazdeism who are born of virgins by means of the miraculously preserved seed of Zoroaster: Buddha's mother, on the other hand, tho pure and good, is not a virgin but a wife. Terebinthus (a name, I strongly

(53) Haer. IX. 8.

(54) Baptism is no part of a genuine Buddhist initiation, and the Essene practise may therefore be Chaldean, Parsi or Levitical. The phrase, "sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship," in the Book of the Great Decease, receives no confirmation from the Book of Discipline, and is therefore figurative. With baptismal rites in later corrupt Buddhism we have nothing to do.

(55) Socrates, H. E. I. 22.

suspect, derived from his supposed Bo-tree) (56) wrote four books: *Mysteries, Gospel, Treasure, and Chapters*. Each of these titles is Buddhist: *Adbhuta, Saddharma, Nidhi* and *Kanda*. In fact, *Nidhi-Kanda*, "Treasure-chapter," is a well-known Pāli Sutta, in an ancient and popular Buddhist anthology. Now, we know from Chinese records that there was much Buddhist propaganda in Bactria and Parthia in the early Christian centuries: many monks from these parts took Buddhist books into China. If the records of Western Buddhists had been as carefully kept as those of the Chinese, we should doubtless have knowledge of their activity in the valley of the Euphrates. But the hurricane of Islām destroyed them. Sylvain Lévi, however, tells a story from an Armenian historian of a Hindū colony in Armenia, which lasted from the first century to the fourth.(57) It is such links as this that enable us to understand how it was that the early Christian Gnostics got hold of Hindū ideas. Hippolytus tells us that the Docetists maintained that Christ came to abolish transmigration.(58) Now Gotamo says, on the first page of the *Itivuttaka*, the Buddhist Logia-Book: **I am your surety against return to earth.** Moreover, according to Cyril and Epiphanius, the predecessor of Tere-

(56) Cf. the Bo-trees of different Buddhas, *Dīgha* 14, translated by me (Philadelphia, 1899) and now by Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 2.)

(57) *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1891.

(58) *Haer.* VIII. 3.

binthus, one Scythianus, had made his fortune in the Indian trade and brought Hindū books to Alexandria. This was in the first century, or at latest in the second.

Baur and Garbe have, moreover, pointed out that the Gnostic classification of men as material, psychical and spiritual, corresponds to the Three *Gunas* of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.(59) Plutarch gives us an example of a barbarian (evidently a Hindū or a Hindū proselyte) talking philosophy to a Greek.(60) He made his appearance every year in the region of the Red Sea, living the rest of the time in the wilds, and having intercourse with demons and pastoral nymphs. He said the demons inspired him, and explained a doctrine found in the first Sutta of the Long Collection: how that spirits, when expelled from a lower sphere, upon the dissolution of the universe, migrate into a higher one until a certain cycle is fulfilled. His notion of a plurality of worlds may also be Hindū, but his number 183 is hard to account for.

Basilides, in the first half of the second century, has also a parallel to the Sutta mentioned. The passage is so extraordinary, so thoroly Buddhist, and so unlikely to have been derived elsewhere,

(59) Richard Garbe: *Philosophy of Ancient India*: Chicago, 1897, p. 48.

(60) *De Def. Orac.* 21, 22.

that I will quote both it and the Buddhist text. The Sutta says: (61)

Now there comes also a time, brethren, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long, long period, this world-system passes away. And when this happens, beings have mostly been re-born in the World of Radiance, and there they dwell made of mind, feeding on joy, radiating light from themselves, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus they remain for a long, long period of time.

Now there comes also a time, brethren, when, sooner or later, this world-system begins to re-evolve. When this happens the Palace of Brahmā appears, but it is empty. And some being or other, either because his span of years has past or his merit is exhausted, falls from that World of Radiance, and comes to life in the Palace of Brahmā. And there also he lives made of mind, feeding on joy, radiating light from himself, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus does he remain for a long, long period of time.

Now there arises in him, from his dwelling there so long alone, a dissatisfaction and a longing: "Oh! would that other beings might come to join me in this place!" And just then, either because their span of years has past or their merit is exhausted, other beings fall from the World of Radiance, and appear in the Palace of Brahmā as companions to him, and in all respects like him. On this, brethren,

(61) Brahma-Jāla Sutta, Rhys Davids' translation, 1899. (*Dialogs*, Vol. 1, p. 30.)

the one who was first re-born thinks thus to himself: "I am Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme One, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be. These other beings are of my creation. And why is that so? A while ago I thought, Would that they might come! And on my mental aspiration, behold the beings came."

And those beings themselves, too, think thus: "This must be Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be. And we must have been created by him. And why? Because, as we see, it was he who was here first, and we came hither after that."

On this, brethren, the one who first came into existence there is of longer life, and more glorious, and more powerful than those who appeared after him. And it might well be, brethren, that some being, on his falling from that state, should come hither. And having come hither he might go forth from the household life into the homeless state. And having thus become a recluse he, by reason of ardor, of exertion, of application, of earnestness, of careful thought, reaches up to such rapture of heart that, rapt in heart, he calls to mind his last dwelling-place, but not the previous ones. He says to himself: "That illustrious Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, the Supreme

One, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord of all, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief of all, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, the Father of all that are and are to be, he by whom we were created, he is steadfast, immutable, eternal, of a nature that knows no change, and he will remain so for ever and ever. But we who were created by him have come hither as being impermanent, mutable, limited in duration of life."

This, brethren, is the first state of things on account of which, starting out from which, some recluses and Brahmins, being Eternalists as to some things, and Non-Eternalists as to others, maintain that the soul and the world are partly eternal and partly not.

According to Hippolytus, Basilides taught this: (62)

The Gospel then came, says [Basilides,] first from the Sonship thru the Son, that was seated beside the Archon, to the Archon; and the Archon learned that he was not God of the universe, but was begotten. But, [ascertaining that] he has above himself the deposited treasure of that Ineffa-

(62) Haer. VII. 14, Edinburgh translation. Our present introduction was written long before the appearance of Kennedy's great article on Basilides and Buddhism (J. R. A. S. 1902.) But the quotation here dealt with is overlooked.

Renan long since pointed out the Buddhist ring about some doctrines of the Peratae, who laid claim to *pass beyond destruction*. (Hippolytus V. 11.) They held, moreover, that whatever is begotten must also perish. But, as Hippolytus says, their system is astrological. Their proper names are Greek and Babylonian, and if there be any Hindu influence, it is remote.

ble and Unnameable [and] Non-existent One, and of the Sonship, he was both converted and filled with terror, when he was brought to understand in what ignorance he was [involved.] This, he says, is what has been declared : **The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.** For, being orally instructed by Christ, who was seated near, he began to acquire wisdom [inasmuch as he thereby] learns who is the Non-existent One, what the Sonship [is,] what the Holy Spirit [is,] what the apparatus of the universe [is], and what is likely to be the consummation of things. This is the wisdom spoken in a mystery, concerning which, says [Basilides,] Scripture uses the following expressions : **Not in words taught of human wisdom, but in [those] taught of the Spirit.** The Archon, then, being orally instructed, and taught, and being [thereby] filled with fear, proceeded to make confession concerning the sin which he had committed in magnifying himself. This, he says, is what is declared : **I have recognized my sin, and I know my transgression, [and] about this I shall confess forever.**

This idea, that an angelic personage wrongly imagines himself to be the Supreme Being, is found, I believe, in no religion but Buddhism. The further idea, that he should be instructed by Christ, is also found there : in the forty-ninth Dialog of the Middling Collection, Gotamo instructs the Brahmā Bakko that he is not immortal.

Before we leave the second century we must notice two things :

1. The mention of Buddha by Clement of Alexandria ;

2. The finding of the Gospel of Matthew in India by Pantænus.

Clement, in the closing decade of the second century, says this : (63)

Philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourishes in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations. And afterwards it came to Greece. First in its ranks were the prophets of the Egyptians; and the Chaldeans among the Assyrians; and the Druids among the Gauls; and the *Samanos* among the Bactrians; and the philosophers of the Celts; and the Magi of the Persians, who foretold the Savior's birth, and came to the land of Judea, guided by a star. The Hindū gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. And of these there are two classes : some of them called *Samanos*, and others Brahmins. And those of the *Samanos* who are called forest-dwellers neither inhabit cities nor have roofs over them, but are clad in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. They know neither marriage nor begetting of children, like those now called Encratites. There are also among the Hindūs those who obey the precepts of Buddha, whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity (or, *Samana*-ship) they have exalted into a god. (64)

Clement may be quoting Megasthenes here, or Alexander Polyhistor : we do not know. He quotes both these authors by name in this very chapter.

(63) *Stromat* I. 15.

(64) Lightfoot corrects Priaulx in criticizing this passage, which is abridged by Cyril, and not necessarily quoted from Alexander Polyhistor, as Priaulx believed.

Polyhistor described the Bactrian topos, and Clement also quotes his description in another place, as we have seen before. There may have been Buddhist books in the Alexandrine Library—a thing we should very much like to know. We do know from Pliny that there were Zoroastrian ones translated by Hermippus; and yet Clement, who alludes to Zoroaster, does not quote them, but says that secret Mazdean books were read by the disciples of Prodicus the heretic. Clement's non-quotation of Buddhist books therefore cannot of itself throw doubt on their existence in Alexandria; but, taken together with the silence of the ancients, it does throw doubt. Still the fact remains that Megasthenes, Alexander Polyhistor, and other writers on India were read in Alexandria; while the intercourse which we have proven between East and West makes it probable that more direct knowledge existed there. This intercourse also makes it likely that India itself is meant in the story of Pantænus, and not merely some Red Sea country loosely called India. Milne Rae, in his work on the Syrian Church in India quoted above, considers that Jerome's identification of Pantænus' India with the land of the Brahmins proves the case. The monsoon had brought Alexandria near to the ports on the Indus; and just as the Mahdi's proclamation of 1884 spoke of Suez and Constantinople as neighbors because the Nubians embark at the one for the other,(65) so in the second century was India the neighbor of

(65) Renan: *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, Vol. 2.

Alexandria. It is therefore to be taken as a fact of history that when Pantænus went to India, he found the Gospel of Matthew already there. Renan has shown that Semitic dialects were engrafted upon Indian languages by traffickers ; and the widespread use of Semitic letters on coins and inscriptions makes it quite natural for Pantænus to have found the First Gospel in India in Aramaic ones.(66)

Moreover, at the end of the fourth century, Chrysostom tells us that the Hindūs, as well as the Syrians, Egyptians, Persians and Ethiops, had translated the doctrines of John.(67) It is in a rhetorical passage about the influence of John, compared with that of Pythagoras and Plato ; but as we know that versions of the New Testament have come down to us from most of (68) the other nations mentioned, it is reasonable to believe that by the time of Chrysostom the Hindūs had also a version. This is confirmed by Socrates,(69) who says that Bartholomew was appointed missionary to that part of India contiguous to Ethiopia, meaning doubtless the Coromandel coast, which was in constant communication with the Red Sea ports. Socrates also

(66) Asoko's edict at Shāhbāzgarhi is in a Semitic character, tho in a Pali or Prākṛit dialect ; and this character continued in use for some time later. See Rawlinson's *Parthia* : N. Y. 1893, pp. 391 and 415.

(67) *Homily 2 on John.*

(68) Hug says that the Persian Gospels are post-Muslim, so that we cannot count upon that version as early.

(69) *H. E. I.* 19.

tells us that the Indians of the interior were not converted till the time of Constantine. This period coincides with what Max Müller calls the Renaissance of Sanskrit literature, whereto he ascribes the later episodes in the Great Epic, such as the *Bhavagad Gītā*. If this be so, then the incarnation-doctrine of the latter may have a Christian origin. Other possible allusions to Christianity in the Great Epic have been noticed by Washburn Hopkins.(70) Cosmas Indicopleustes found the Syrian church in India in the sixth century, and Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth.(71) The disappearance of the Hindū version of the New Testament is much less astonishing than that of the Pāli Canon on the Indian continent.

The names of Greek benefactors of native shrines are found engraven in Indian caves, as at Kharli.(72) The Kharli cave is Buddhist and appears to antedate the Christian era. Other inscriptions of the same kind belong to the early Christian centuries. Now, we have seen that there was intercourse—religious, philosophic, literary, artistic and

(70) Religions of India: Boston, 1895, p. 431.

(71) Hakluyt Society: London, 1857. The same volume (*India in the Fifteenth Century*) contains the travels of Athanasius Nitikin, who found the expiring remnants of Buddhism in central India, sadly mixt with Çaivism.

(72) Beal: Buddhism in China: London, 1884, p. 139. Sylvain Lévi: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions: Paris, 1891, part 1, p. 44. Minayeff: Recherches sur le Bouddhisme: Paris, 1894, p. 106.

(One inscription reads: *Dhamma-Yavanasa Dhenikasa*, i. e. donation of the pious Greek Dhenika. A. M.)

commercial—between the Greeks and the Hindūs, all the time from Megasthenes to Hippolytus. Estlin Carpenter has pointed out that the latter writer (third century) gives the fullest account of the Hindūs that we possess since that of the former. This is probably because a traveler of the second or third century had furnished new materials, but it does not imply any intercourse between East and West in the interval which includes the Christian era. When Estlin Carpenter wrote, in 1880, (73) Jacobs had not yet traced the Jātakas into the Talmud (1889). Strabo's observation shows that at the time of Christ the intercourse was at its height.

Albert Metzger, of the Savoy Academy of Sciences, in his *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des Origines Orientales du Christianisme* (Paris, 1906) makes a luminous survey of the intercourse between Europe and Asia. He too complains of Mediterranean exclusiveness and explains it with the usual French clearness. The substance of his explanation is this: When the Gothic invasions abruptly cut off Europe from the East, the West was shut up within itself and became morbidly monomaniac. During the long night of the Middle Ages, Europeans lost all correct idea of the world beyond the Mediterranean, which they peopled with monsters, and imagined that the Portuguese and the Spaniards discovered a new world when

(73) Nineteenth Century : December, 1880.

they re-opened the ancient route to India and China. This geographical superstition persists to-day, and we fancy that farther Asia was mysteriously shut off from contact with our three classic nations, Greece, Rome and Judea. So far our friend from Chambéry. Let us deduce herefrom a useful maxim :—

AS THE ROMAN ALPHABET IS A CAGE FOR THE LINGUISTIC MIND, SO IS THE MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE A CAGE FOR THE HISTORICAL MIND.

The first century was a time of religious ferment, from the Nile to the Yangtse-Kiang. The Parthian Vologeses was collecting the scattered Zoroastrian Avesta, (74) while the Indo-Scythian Kanishka was giving imperial sanction to the Sanskrit commentaries on the Canon of the Buddhists. (75) The Emperor of China had a dream which resulted in the official introduction of Buddhism into his dominions, at the very time, perhaps the very year, when Paul was standing before Nero. (76) Thomas, says the legend, was preaching to the Hindūs, and Matthew to the Parthians (even if neither got further east than Edessa), while the Buddhist father Aṣvaghosha was carried into Bactria

(74) Darmesteter, *Introd. to S. B. E.* IV, p. xxxiii.

(75) Hiuen Tsiang, *Book III.* Cf. Rhys Davids' note in introduction to *S. B. E.* XXXVI.

(76) Harlez gives *A. D.* 63 (*Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 1893.)

by Kanishka.(77) He it was who wrote that celebrated treatise, lately translated by Suzuki in Chicago, which played for Buddhism the part of Origen for Christianity—laid the basis of a religious philosophy. Each of these daring thinkers aimed to supply the deficiencies of his Master: Origen, in the third century, framed into intellectual outlines the gnomic utterances of Jesus and the half-sketcht system of Paul; Aṣvaghosha, in the first century, establisht a relation between man and the primal Being which Gotamo had set aside.

We thus see that in the first century there arose a tidal wave of religion from the Levant to the Yellow Sea, but in earlier ages there had been similar uprisings in the region between the Ganges and the Nile. I am never tired of repeating that this region is the Holy Land of the human race, and was so regarded by the ancients, some of whom, says Strabo, considered all Asia as far as India to be consecrated to Bacchus(78). Even now we all look to that region: Hebrew and Parsi, Hindū and Christian, Buddhist and Muslim, all seek the fount of their faiths in that mystic realm. The lost religions of Babylon and Egypt were born there.

(77) Beal, *Four Lectures*, p. xi. Suzuki's translation of Aṣvaghosha's treatise on Faith: Chicago, 1900, pp. 11, 12. According to the Tibetan account, also given by Suzuki, Aṣvaghosha was too old to go to Bactria, but he sent a disciple of his, with a letter on Buddhism.

(78) Geog. X. 3. Cf. Justinus XLII. 3, where Hercules and Bacchus are called Kings of the East.

Even the Greeks and the Romans were debtors thereto for the cults of Bacchus and Mithras and perhaps for the Mysteries of Eleusis. Among the great nations of to-day, only those Chinamen and Japanese who practise their ancestral religions uninfluenced by Buddhism are aliens thereto. But, with all its corruptions, the faith of Gotamo has always been a power among them; and to-day the thoughtful among those distant Mongols set their faces toward the Ganges.

Religious ideas, like all others, are spread by political power and military force. Lightfoot has shown that even the disintegration of an empire scatters far and wide the seeds of its thought. Thus did Persian ideas persist from the Bosphorus to the Indus long after the glory had departed from the house of Cyrus. Thus too did the Greek tongue become the sacred language of the Christians when the Greek arms had long since succumbed to the Roman. Still, it is martial might that first makes a nation strong enough for its thoughts to take root among strangers, generally among those who have felt the force of its arms. So in the regions of Aram and Persia, as empire rose upon empire, wave after wave of thought, with Aramaic for a vehicle, (79) had rolled from Taxila to Damascus. (80) The Semitic idolatry of Solomon, with its germs of monotheism; the Tammuz-cult of Nebuchad-

(79) Ezra IV. 7; Josephus, *Wars*, Proem.

(80) Clem. Alex. to the Greeks, cap. 5.

nezzar;(81) the Mazdeism of Darius Hystaspes,(82) the Hellenic arts of Alexander, and the Judaism of John Hyrcanus(83) had left their impress on the East. The Greek language, which the arms of Alexander had spread over this Holy Land, became a vehicle for a Gentile version of the Old Testament, while the very king who patronized its translation received a message from Asoko. The message implies an embassy, and the eagerness of Philadelphus to collect and translate the literature of Asia would lead us to hope that Asoko sent him some specimens. Unfortunately, however, we cannot be sure that Hindū sacred oracles, whether Brahmin or Buddhist, had then been committed to writing. The Great Epic of India pronounces a curse on him who sells, defiles or *writes* the Veda;(84) but the composition of this vast body of poetry extends over a period of a thousand years, divided by the Christian era; and we do not know whether the curse was called forth by some actual attempt to write or sell the Veda, and even if so, at which end of the thousand years the attempt was made. There might have been some writing of Hindū laws at the time of Philadelphus and Asoko (for the Sūtra period had closed(85) but hardly of the Veda.

(81) Ezekiel VIII. 14.

(82) Behistan Inscription.

(83) Josephus, Antiq. XIII. ix 1; Strabo XVI. ii. 34.

(84) Max Müller: History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature: London, 1859, p. 502. Professor C. R. Lanman tells me that the passage occurs in Parvan XIII. This entire book is one of the later additions to the Epic.

As to the Buddhist oracles, the Three Baskets were first committed to writing, so far as we know, about 40. B. C., and then only at the Great Monastery in Ceylon. Four hundred years after Christ, Fā Hian found written copies rare in continental India. If any Hindū writings found their way to Alexandria they were most probably popular literature, but not the sacred books. The Talmudic fables which we have mentioned came doubtless thru an oral channel. In spite of Strabo's complaint of the ignorance of merchants, (86) some travelers must have been intelligent enough to make this transference of folk-lore. Indeed nothing in the East travels quicker than a good story.

The Greeks and Romans evidently knew more about Brahmins than about Buddhists, as we may see from writers like Hippolytus, who give clearer accounts of the former than of the latter. Megasthenes was their chief authority, and he was ambassador at a Brahmin court, before Buddhism was clothed with political power.

The monks whom Asoko had sent forth to preach the doctrines of Gotamo may have gone to Antioch and to Alexandria, but they settled no further west than Persia. Albirūnī makes the Persian province of Khurāsān the western frontier of Buddhism, at least of its continuous extension. Mithra-worship has left traces of its prevalence from Bactria

(85) Hopkins: Religions of India (Boston, 1895, p. 8.)

(86) Geog. XV. I. 4.

to Northumberland,(87) and if Buddhism had been half as prevalent, it would also have left remains. Every nation where it ever was planted has contributed to its literature, from Tōkyō to Astrakhan; and even where Buddhist books have disappeared, as in India proper, the national literature bears witness to its power; so that in Syria, where it has left us little, we cannot reckon it to have been a power on a footing with Hellenism and Mazdeism. And yet the migration of the Jātakas, the Buddhist touches in the Acts of Thomas, and the magical books of Scythianus leave us a loophole wherethru some influence must have past.

But there is little doubt that in Bactria Buddhist literature was actually translated into Greek. Bactra, its capital, the obscure modern town of Balkh in Afghanistan, was anciently the great entrepôt between Babylon and India.(88) It was called "the mother of cities," and all Bactria to-day is covered with their ruins. Now, Asoko founded a mission station here in the third century B. C., and in the seventh century A. D., the pilgrim Yuan Chwāṅ found at Balkh one hundred monasteries and three thousand Hīnayāna monks.(89) These

(87) Clem. Alex. to the Greeks, cap. 5 ; Beal, Buddhism in China, p. 128. The text here is just as I wrote it before reading Aiken's excellent statement of the limits of Buddhism.

(88) Strabo II. i. 15. Indian wares were brought down the Oxus. Brooks Adams: The New Empire. N. Y., 1902. (Map of ancient trade routes.)

(89) Thomas Watters: On Yuan Chwāṅ's Travels in India: London, 1904-1905, Vol. 1, p. 108.

numbers had taken time to grow, and there is the evidence of Polyhistor, already quoted, that at the time of Christ the country was full of Buddhist topes. Furthermore, a Ceylon Father of the fifth century, who had access to monastic chronicles now lost, asserts that the Greek empire was converted by a certain Scripture.(90) This Scripture was the *Discourse in the Squirrel Park* (at Sāketa). There is, in the Numerical Collection, exactly such a sūtra, and its subject is the Buddha's omniscience. If the spade of the archeologist could dig up a Greek version of this sūtra among the ruins at Balkh, what a career would be opened for Buddhist apologetics !

My critics tell me that I am too fond of reasoning from the unknown. But I hold it to be a cardinal duty of science to take account of the unknown and to watch for the source of strange disturbances, as Adams and Leverrier watcht for the outlying planet which was perturbing the motions of Uranus.

The Questions of King Milindo (Menander) strengthen the argument from the Discourse in the Squirrel Park. Menander, in the second century B. C., showed an interest in and a knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures which may have been founded upon a knowledge of Pāli; but even then one would expect such a patron to have some specimens of the lore he admired translated into Greek, or into

(90) Buddhaghoso's *Samanta-pāsādikā*, in Vol. 3, p. 317, of Oldenberg's edition of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

some vernacular. Strabo says(91) that nearly the same language pervaded Media and parts of Persia, Bactria and Sogdiana. Strabo also says(92) that the Corybantes had come from Bactria, and Euripides pictures them as passing the Bactrian Gates. When Buddhist ideas were carried westward, they would as surely be translated as the Bacchic had been.

In my third edition I inclined to the opinion that Luke had been influenced by the Buddhist Epic; and I still think, with Seydel, that one of the πολλοι of his Prolog (Luke I. 1) may have been an Aramaic poetical Gospel, now lost, which had drawn materials from the Buddha-legend, just as the Buddhist-Christian romance of Barlaam and Joasaph did a few centuries later. Luke is peculiar in having a Perean Section, which contains the parable of the Prodigal Son and other stories unknown to the Synoptic narrative, the Logia-Source or John. Now Perea was that province beyond Jordan where the influence of other cults was felt; and as the Prodigal Son (like the parable of the Talents) is a Hindū story, there is good reason to believe that other elements in Luke are also Hindū. But the use made by Luke of such material cannot be seen without a precise knowledge of the texts, Buddhist and Christian, possess by few. Any one who will master the details will quickly perceive that Luke's alteration of the Buddhist legends is no

(91) Geog. XV. 2.8.

(92) Geog. X 3.19.

more than his alteration of the Synoptical tradition: Compare, for example, his treatment of Mark's account of the Galilean apparitions (Mark xvi. 7= Luke xxiv. 6), where, in order to enforce his view that the appearances were confined to Jerusalem, he suppresses the supper-table charge to go into Galilee (both here and at xxii. 31), but retains an echo of the words of Mark :

how he spake unto you.....in Galilee.

The author who could deal thus with his sources can have similarly transformed such themes as the Vision of the Hermit, the Angelic Heralds and their Hymn, the Prediction of the Lord's Career, the Charge to the sixty-one Missionaries, and the Penitent Brigand.

But too much has been made by my critics of such suggestions. Indeed, even the best of them—scholars like Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Otto Zöckler and Jean Réville—regard my book as an attempt to prove a connection between the two religions. But they mistake my aim : the suggestion that the younger and more eclectic religion may have borrowed from the older and simpler (93) was a mere aside, my aim being to present a tableau of the two greatest religions, in order to help them to understand each other better.

If the reader wishes to see what can be said in

(93) Tho later Buddhism has taken on foreign influences, yet primitive Buddhism was intensely Hindū, and this for centuries ; whereas Christianity had its very birth in a hot-bed of eclecticism. This is now well recognized.

favor of Christian loans from Buddhism (loans by no means of fundamental importance), let him read my two essays entitled:—

Can the Pāli Pīṭakas aid us in fixing the Text of the Gospels? Philadelphia, 1905, pp. 8.

Buddhist Texts Quoted as Scripture by the Gospel of John: a discovery in the lower criticism. (John vii. 38; xii. 34.) Philadelphia, 1906, pp. 41.

In the present work, this problem of loan is not the main thesis, but an inevitable side-issue.

In comparing the two Gospels we must distinguish three things:

1. The facts of the founders' lives as Eastern prophets: their fasting and desert-meditation; their missionary charge; their appointment of a successor; their preaching to the poor; their sympathy with the oppressed; their self-assertion as patterns of the race; their transfiguration on the eve of death; their forecast of faith's triumph and decline; their exaltation in the ideal world: all these may be hard biographical facts.

2. The influence upon their biographies of the hero-legends of their native lands and those of neighboring nations. Under this head come the Messianic features: the birth-marvels; the fight with fiends (with of course a foundation in fact); the expected return in glory of the Master or his remote successor; and their superhuman powers.(94)

(94) We mean here only the absurd ones, such as finding money in fishes and flying across the Ganges. The true ones, of psychic influence and healing power, come under our first head.

Under this head, the Buddha-legend may go back to the Indian Rishis, and the Christ-legend to Elijah and Elisha. Both may have caught a tinge from Zoroaster, and Christ from the earlier Buddha; while the later Buddha-legends may have been influenced by rising Christianity, as Beal suggested.

Some things indeed which come properly under No. 1 may be told under the influence of similar stories elsewhere. Hence we have mentioned the Missionary Charge under both heads. So too may certain wondrous works belong to both—be partly true and partly mythical.

3. The presence of a pre-historic hero-myth, more or less bodied forth in Osiris, Hercules and Wäinämöinen. As Greek has borrowed a few words from Sanskrit, yet both go back to an Aryan parent, so is it with the faiths. Ay, and there may be an Ugro-Aryan still farther back in the sea-like wastes of time. As in geology the fundamental gneiss of the New World is not visibly connected with that of the Old, but both are a common outcrop from the primeval earth,—while yet again at points a visible connection may be found,—so is it with religion. Under this head, therefore, are included those resemblances which have their ground in the human mind itself, and belong to the domain of psychology.

Buddhism seems to have been destined to travel from the East to the farther East; Christianity from the East to the West. Renan has said

a remarkable thing about the non-importation of Christianity into the far East :—

Arabian countries did not lend themselves at all to the new preaching, and the lands submitted to the Arsacidæ were open but little to efforts coming from Roman countries. In the geography of the apostles, the earth is very small. The first Christians never dream of the barbarian world nor of the Persian; even the Arabian world hardly exists for them. The missions of Saint Thomas to the Parthians, of Saint Andrew to the Scythians, and of St. Bartholomew in India belong to legend. The Christian imagination of the early times turns little toward the East: the goal of the apostolic journeyings was the extremity of the West, [Rom. XV. 19 and 28; Clem. Rom. 5;] in the East one would say that the missionaries regard the limit as already reached.(95)

Renan has here seized upon a great central fact with that insight which belongs to the true historian: the limitations of the apostles set the current of Christianity toward the West.

Dramatic in the highest is the course of the two great world-faiths: Buddhism has rolled from the Ganges to the Pacific, and Christianity from the Jordan, in the reverse direction, again to the Pacific, until in Japan and the United States, after their age-long and planetary march, they stand looking at each other across that ocean—once a Spanish, but now an American lake. Just as the Greek New

(95) Of course Renan is here speaking of the apostles, but he also doubts the visit of Pantænus to India in the second century, which we have maintained.

Testament words *presbyter*, *church*, and the like, are spread thru all the languages of Christendom from Hellas to Iceland, so are the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist words for the same things spread thru all the tongues of Buddhdom. Sometimes too they have encroacht upon each other's realms. Thus we find the Greek and Latin *Samanæus* carrying the old Pāli word *Samano* to the banks of the Tiber; and, long before the Clivian era of cosmic intercourse, the Christian monks on Rhine and Tyne took the old term still farther from its homes on the Ganges, the Mekong and the Yang-tse-kiang.

Christianity spread the Roman form of the Phenician alphabet over Europe and America, while Buddhism spread the Pāli form over the continent of Asia and the islands of the sea. The old alphabet of the Philippine Tagals is derived from Asoko's Pāli, and in that dreamy archipelago the two great world-forces, which first met when the Spaniards landed in the sixteenth century, have now, at the dawn of the twentieth, begun a new act in the drama which only time can unroll.

Apart from the external embellishments of the two Gospels, Buddhist and Christian, there is, as Schopenhauer maintained, a profound agreement between them. On the surface, i. e. in the realm of emotion, they are diametrically contradictory: one ignoring a personal God, and the other proclaiming him; one teaching self-salvation, assisted by a Savior; the other preaching salvation thru

Christ alone, seconded by one's prayers and efforts ; one asserting a past eternity of transmigration that must end in Nirvāṇa ; the other ignoring the past, but clinging to a future eternity of personal redeemed life. Yet, deep in the region of truth, the twain are one : both proclaim the necessity of a second death, a death of self : "whoso seeketh his soul shall lose it, but he that loseth it shall find it." Both maintain, in different ways—one emotionally, and the other intellectually—that self is unreal, that we metaphysical islands were once parts of a continent, and may yet be so again. (96)

Buddha, while subordinating the office of the personal Savior, yet admits it. (97) He recognized his personal power also when he said his religion would wane after his death. Jesus said the same. According to a later authority, there were no Arahats after the first Buddhist century ; while the *Milindo* represents that Devadatto was only saved from everlasting perdition by joining the church.

The Buddhist Nirvāṇa is that of the intellect: loss of self in the universe ; the Christian Nirvāṇa is that of the heart : loss of self in others. And yet the Christian humiliation before the Deity recognizes the former truth, while the Buddhist love-meditation (*metta-cittam*) admits the latter. Only

(96) John xvii. 22, 23 ; 1 Cor. xv. 28. Matthew Arnold's wonderful expression of this, in his *Switzerland*, is, from a Hindū standpoint, the high-water-mark of European poetry.

(97) See our translations from Itivuttaka 92 and Majjhima 22.

in Christianity this second truth becomes objective and dominant. The touchstone is the Gospel cures. The works of healing are the key to Christ. Beyond such cases as we have here translated of Stoical mind-cure, the Pāli Scriptures have nothing like them. Indeed Buddha could never have wrought them : his energy was spent upon philosophy. *He* gathered strength in the wilderness to solve problems ; Jesus, to heal disease. Buddha would almost have regarded Christ's method as shallow : it was the disease of existence itself that he wanted to heal. On the other hand, even Jesus recognized the temporary nature of his cures and the stern ascendancy of evil on the physical plane, in that terrible parable of the unclean spirit's return.

The two great philosophers of the two faiths strove to fill up the deficiencies of the Masters : Origen attempted to give us the metaphysics neglected by Christ ; Aṣvaghosha, the worship neglected by Buddha. But all is so far imperfect : all that we have gotten in this stage of our planet's spiritual history is two extreme points in its orbit wherefrom to calculate the parallax of far-away stars. Without these extreme points we can only calculate on the basis of the earth's diameter, whereby no parallax can be had, so that all theology that neglects one or the other of these cosmic faiths can deal only with the neighboring planets of its own religious system, but can never hope to let loose the imprisoned mind into the vast Beyond.

The Christ-Metteyyo is yet to come, who shall make the measurement : the prophet of a perfect balance between mind and heart, whom Emerson sighed for, and for whom the ages wait.

END OF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

SACRED TEXTS

Sacred Texts.

PART I.

THE INFANCY LEGENDS.

I. SUPERNATURAL BIRTH.

Luke I. 35.

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee : wherefore also the holy thing which is to be born shall be called the Son of God.

Middling Collection, Dialog 38 (1)

(C. T. No. 201 in the Chinese.)

Quoted in the Questions of King Milindo. p. 123 of the Pali, but omitted in the translation in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV.

Conception takes place, O monks, by the union of three. In this world the father and mother are united. The mother may be capa-

(1) Neumann, in his German translation (Vol. I. p. 420), expands the text here, presumably from the commentary.

ble, but the genius(2) may not be ready. It is by the union of these three, O monks, that conception takes place.

(2) *Gandhabbo* (Sanskrit, *Gandharva*). Anesaki says that the Chinese reads : "fragrant deposit."

The Vedic Gandharva (rarely more than one appears in the Rig-Veda) is guardian of the Soma, which the gods obtain from him. Indra got it by force for the human race. (Cf. Prometheus). The Gandharva makes known heavenly secrets and divine truths. He is the parent of the first human pair, Yama and Yamī. He has a mystical power over women, and is invoked at marriage. Ecstasy and possession are due to him. All these are Vedic traits, and several coincide with the functions of the Holy Ghost. In later times there were twenty-seven gandharvas, who revealed the Vedas to Vāc, the Hindū Logos. (Çatapatha-Brahmana.) These details have been obtained from the Sanskrit Dictionary of Monier Williams (Ed. 2, 1899.)

2. THE NATIVITY.

Neither of the Christian Nativity Legends (Matthew I.; Luke I.) have enough in common with the Buddhist to be here transcribed. I only give the following Dialog, because of the dominant idea of a wonderful birth. But the conclusion of our Infancy Section (the narrative next to this one) will present remarkable agreements with Luke II.

Dialog on Wonders and Marvels :

Middling Collection, Dialog 123.

(C. T. No. 32 in the Chinese.)

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatti in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder of the Poor. Now a number of monks, upon returning from the quest of alms, and having eaten their meal, were sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose:

“Wonderful, O brother! marvelous, O brother! is the occult power and magical might of the⁽¹⁾ Tathāgato: when, for example, he has knowledge of the bygone Buddhas who have gone into Nirvāṇa, have broken down obstacles and avenues, exhausted their trans-migrations and past beyond all pain, and

(1) The indefinite article may be rendered here with equal propriety.

the Tathāgato perceives : ‘Such were the families and such the names of the Blessed Ones ; their clans were so-and-so ; such were their morals, such their doctrines, their wisdom, their dwellings, and their manner of release.’ ”

After such talk as this, St. Ānando said unto the monks : “Wonderful, brethren, are the Tathāgatos, and endowed with wonderful qualities ; marvelous, brethren ! are the Tathāgatos, and endowed with marvelous qualities.”

Such was the conversation among the monks when it was broken off. Now, the Lord, having arisen from retirement at eventide, came into the room of state and sat down upon the seat prepared for him. While sitting there the Lord address the monks and said : “Monks ! What now is the subject of your discourse while sitting together ? And what, moreover, was your conversation which you just broke off ?”

[They answered:] “Here, Lord, having returned from the quest of alms and having eaten our meal, we have been sitting assembled in the room of state, when the following conversation arose : ‘Wonderful, O brother ! marvelous, O brother ! is the occult power and magical might of the Tathāgato,’ [etc., repeated from above, down to the end of Ānando’s speech.] “This, Lord, was our conversation which was broken off. Just then the Lord arrived.”

Now the Lord address St. Ānando : “And

2. THE NATIVITY

so, Ānando, may the wonderful and marvelous qualities of the Tathāgato become more and more apparent."

[Ānando replied]: "*In my presence, Lord, was it heard from [the lips of] the Lord, and in my presence received: 'Ānando, the future Buddha is mindful and conscious when he is born with the Tusitā body.' This fact, Lord, that the future Buddha is mindful and conscious when he is born with the Tusitā body, I hold to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Lord.* (2)

2. " 'Ānando, the future Buddha abode for a lifetime in the Tusitā body.' (3)

3. " '*Ānando, the future Buddha is mindful*

(2) Repetitions similar to those italicized in the above paragraph occur at the beginning and the end of the eighteen statements which follow. They are here numbered for convenience. Nos. 3 to 18 are substantially identical with the passage in Digha 14, translated by me from the Pāli (The Marvelous Birth of the Buddhas: Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 5-11.) Passages or phrases found in other parts of the Pāli Canon are also italicized. They prove that the Nativity document is one of the ancient strata of the Scriptures. (See my note in *The Open Court*: June, 1899.) It is however of secondary antiquity, being unknown to the Classified Collection, the synoptical backbone of the Āgamas.

(3) One of the spheres of the *devaloko* or angel-world. The word *body* may also be rendered *host*, i.e. *angelic society*.

Conversation of the monks and other things are omitted in the Chinese, and the birth of Kaçyapa Buddha in the Tusitā is repeated. All is spoken by Ānando. (A. M.)

and conscious when he vanishes from the Tusitā body, and descends into his mother's womb.'(4)

4. "Ānando, when the future Buddha vanishes from the Tusitā body, and descends into his mother's womb, then, in the world of the angels, together with those of Māro and Brahmā, and unto the race of philosophers and Brahmins, princes and peoples, there appears a splendor, limitless and eminent, transcending the angelic might of the angels. And even in the boundless realms of space, with their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt in the sky,—there too appears the splendor limitless and eminent, transcending the very might of the angels, so that beings who are born there(5) observe among themselves, by

(4) Statement No. 3 occurs in the Decease-Book III. 15. The words *Descent of the Lord* (Bhagavato okranti) occur among the Bharahat inscriptions in India (third or second century B. C.) as the title of a sculpture representing the Incarnation.

(5) This passage, down to "born here," with slight variations, occurs in the Numerical Collection, IV. 127. The substance of it is also in the Sanskrit of the Divyāvadāna, p. 204.

Māro, the Buddhist Tempter, is not purely evil, like the Zoroastrian Devil, but an angel in good standing, being the ruler of the highest sphere of devos, immediately below the seraphic Brahmā-heaven. Karl Neumann regards him as the equivalent of the Greek Pan.

The house was full of light at the birth of Moses, according to the Talmud (Wünsche: *Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*: 1878, p. 14.) Before the birth of Zoroaster the village "became all luminous." (S. B. E. XLVII, p. 30). Wünsche compares with the Talmudic birth-light the

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reason of that splendor: "Friend, it is said that other beings are born here, and this myriad-fold universe quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles: a splendor limitless and eminent appears in the world transcending even the angelic might of the angels."'

5. "‘Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother’s womb, the four sons of the angels, who keep watch over the four quarters, approach him and say: “Neither mortal nor demon shall harm the future Buddha or his mother.”’

6. "‘Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother’s womb, she is pure from sexuality,(6) has abstained *from taking life, from theft, from evil conduct in lusts, from lying, and from all kinds of wine and strong drink, which are a cause of irreligion.*

star in Matthew II. This moving star is more comparable to the heavenly torch that went before Timoleon (Plutarch, Tim. 8 and Diod. Sic. xvi. 66) than to the star Pushya that presides over Buddha’s birth in the Mahāvastu and the Lalita Vistara.

The Book of the Great Decease, III. 15, has: “then *this earth rocks and quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles.*” This betrays a later origin for our present Sutta and its fellow (Digha 14) where the earthquake is extended to the whole universe.

(6) Cf. Diogenes Laërtius on the birth of Plato: “Then he kept her pure of marriage until the birth.” (Lives of the Philosophers, Book 3.) This abstinence, ascribed to the mother of Plato, we know from the context to imply a divine paternity, such as that which is the subject of the *Ion* of Euripides. The

7. “*Ānando*, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother’s womb, there arises not in his mother any lustful intent

abstinence of Gotamo’s mother, on the other hand, implies no such thing, but merely refers to the period of gestation. Such abstinence is enjoined in the Institutes of Vishnu, LXIX. 17, and was also observed by the Essenes. (Josephus, Wars II. viii. 13). It is a familiar practise of Oriental hygiene. Moreover, Gotamo is credited with parents (Milindo IV. 4. 11, quoted from some Sutta not known to Rhys Davids in 1890.) Nevertheless, in the Lalita Vistara the doctrine of a supernatural birth is certainly implied: the queen-mother abstains for thirty-two months before the Nativity. (Foucaux’s translation from the Sanskrit: Paris, 1884, pp. 29, 44). Here also we find the myth about birth from the right side, quoted by Jerome. The Lalita Vistara’s date is unknown, but the cycle of legends therein was known in China in the first century, from a Buddhist source. (S. B. E. XIX., p. xvii). At the same time it appears that the Buddhists themselves have not understood a virginal birth to be implied; for, in a Tibetan passage pointed out by Foucaux and quoted by Aiken, the king and queen live together in the usual way. It may also be added that such is the case in the Chinese Fo-sho-hing-tsan-King. (S. B. E. XIX. p. 8) pointed out by Bixby.

The words in italics constitute the first five prohibitions in the Buddhist Ten Commandments. It will thus be seen that the Buddhists believe in something analogous to the Immaculate Conception, but not in the Virginal Birth—two doctrines that are often confused. On abstinence from wine, compare John the Baptist: Luke I. 15.

On the other hand, the Buddhist Docetists (*Lokottaravādino*) maintained that Gotamo’s son Rāhulo was miraculously born, having descended from heaven into his mother’s womb, without human paternity. (Mahāvastu, Vol. I., pp. 153, 154: Paris, 1882.)

toward men, and she is inviolable by the impure thought of any man.'⁽⁷⁾ *Chalmers p 121 top*

8. "‘Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother’s womb, she is possess of the five pleasures of the senses; she is surrounded by, establisht in, and endowed with the five pleasures of the senses.’

9. "‘Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his mother’s womb, she has no sickness at all, but is happy, with her body free from pain, and sees the future Buddha transparently in the womb (literally, gone across the womb) in full possession of all his limbs and faculties. Even as a cat’s-eye gem, Ānando, being radiant, fine, octagonal and well wrought, is therefore strung upon a dark-blue string, or upon a tawny, or a red, or a white, or a yellow string, so that any man with eyes, upon taking it in his hand, may reflect: “This cat’s-eye gem, being radiant, &c.....is therefore strung upon this dark-blue string, or.....yellow string,”.....even so, Ānando, when the future Buddha is descending into his

(7) Rhys Davids, in *The International Quarterly* (Burlington, Vermont, 1903) has suggested that this statement may have been the germ of the later myth of a Virginal Birth.

Statement No. 5 is not found in the Chinese. We find there more repetitions than in the Pāli and the things ascribed not to the mother but to the baby in womb and coming out of it. In the womb the baby Buddha lies on the right side. (A. M.)

mother's womb, she has no sickness at all, but is happy, with her body free from pain, and sees him transparently in the womb, in full possession of all his limbs and faculties.'(8)

10. " 'Ānando, seven days after the birth of the future Buddha, his mother departs this life, and is born with the Tusitā body.'(9)

11. " 'Moreover, Ānando, while other women bring forth after a gestation of nine or ten months, the future Buddha's mother does not act in the usual way with him: just ten months does she carry the future Buddha before she brings him forth.'(10)

12. " 'Moreover, Anando, while other women bring forth sitting or lying down, the future Buddha's mother does not bring him forth in the usual way: she actually brings him forth standing.'

13. " 'Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, princes are the first to receive him, and common folk afterwards.'
(11)

(8) The detail about painless child-birth is in the apocryphal gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, Chapter 13; so also is the one below, No. 15. *Nulla sanguinis effusio in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente*, are the words. Standing on his feet (No. 17) is there too.

(9) These words occur, but in the plural, in Udāna V. 2.

(10) Suetonius on Augustus, 94; Virgil, Eclog 4.

(11) The words rendered "princes" and "common folk" are literally *angels* and *human beings*. It is thus easy to see how these Oriental tropes can give rise to mythology.

14. "Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, he does not touch the earth: four sons of the princes [or, angels] receive him and present him to his mother. "May Your Majesty be blessed," they say: "unto you is born an eminent son." '(12)

15. "Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, he leaves it quite clean, undefiled with matter(13) or blood, but pure, clean, and undefiled by any impurity. As in the case, Ānando, of a gem or a jewel laid in Benāres cloth, the gem or jewel does not defile the Benāres cloth at all, nor the Benāres cloth the jewel or the gem, (and why?—because they both are pure): even so, Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, &c.....undefiled by any impurity.' (14)

16. "Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, there appear two showers of water from the sky,—one of cool water and the other of warm, to supply the

(12) Cf. Luke I. 28. "May Your Majesty be blessed" is literally: "Goddess, be thou blessed." The word *god* or *angel* was always used in addressing kings and queens. "Yes, God," in the Jātaka Book, means "Yes, Your Majesty."

Cf. also the birth of Zoroaster: "Unto him is born at his house a brilliant man-(child)." (S. B. E. XLVII, p. 31.)

(13) There is a third word here, *uddena*, which I cannot translate. *Uddo* means generally an aquatic animal.

(14) Statements Nos. 10-15 are not found in the Chinese. (A. M.)

needed water for the future Buddha and his mother.'(15)

17. "Ānando, the new-born future Buddha stands sheer upright on his feet, walks northwards with a seven-paced stride, with a white canopy(16) held over him, and looking forth in all directions, utters the taurine speech: "I am the chief in the world, I am the best in the world, I am the eldest in the world. *This is my last existence: I shall now be born no more.*"'(17)

18. "Ānando, when the future Buddha leaves his mother's womb, then in the world of the angels, together with those of Māro and Brahmā, and unto the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples, there appears a splendor limitless and eminent, transcending the angelic might of the angels; and even in the boundless realms of space, with

(15) These statements occur in the Chinese after the passage corresponding to No. 17. The first part states the pond in which the mother purifies herself. The second agrees exactly with No. 16. (A. M.)

(16) "Canopy" seems to me a more dignified translation than "parasol" or "umbrella": it is an emblem of royalty. The Jātaka commentary says that the god Brahmā held it! The words italicized occur in Gotamo's First Sermon. (S. B. E. XI., p. 153; XIII., p. 97.)

(17) Here the words of the utterance are wanting. After this passage there are enumerated various flowers showering down from heaven to the ground where the baby Buddha was born. Cf. Parallel 3, Note 4. (A. M.)

their darkness upon darkness, where yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, are felt not in the sky, there too appears the splendor limitless and eminent, transcending the very might of the angels, so that beings who are born there consider among themselves by reason of that splendor: "Friend, it is said that other beings are born here, and this myriad-fold universe quakes and shakes and tremendously trembles: a splendor limitless and eminent appears in the world, transcending even the angelic might of the angels." '(18)

19. "Therefore, Ānando, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Tathāgato: namely, that his sensations are known (or, perceived) when they arise, known when they continue, and known when they decline. Known are his ideas when they arise; his reflections are known when they arise, and known when they decline. Therefore, Ānando, do thou hold this also to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Tathāgato."

"This fact also, Lord, that the sensations of the Lord are known when they arise, known

(18) End of agreement with the Dīgha Sutta. In saying that these documents are later than the Decease Book, I do not mean to impugn their high antiquity. They are probably the work of the second generation of disciples, i.e. counting from the death of Gotamo.

when they continue, and known when they decline; that his ideas are known.....that his reflections are known.....this also, Lord, I hold to be a wonderful and marvelous quality of the Lord.'(19)

Thus spake St. Ānando. The Master assented, and the monks were rapt and rejoiced at the utterance of St. Ānando.(20)

(19) It may seem inconsistent to omit quotation-marks from the Christian texts and insert them in the Buddhist. But our practise is accurate: the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament have nothing corresponding to such marks, whereas in the Pāli language there is a regular particle of quotation: *ti*, a contraction of *iti*(=Latin *ita*): "thus".

While speaking of quotation-marks, I should like to modify the statement on p. 45, above. *Short* quotations are put in quotation-marks without change of type, together with a few long ones of prime importance; longer ones are otherwise "set solid", unless they be Canonical Sacred Texts, in which case they are in **heavy-faced type**. The Scriptures of all religions are treated alike.

Quotation-marks are clumsy things, and a change of type is the best method of showing a citation. But it is bad usage to make the change by printing in smaller type. Apart from the manifest egotism of giving the greater honor to one's own speeches and the lesser to one's neighbor's, it is ruinous to the eye. Quoted texts are often more important than the author's remarks, and need re-reading and study. Thus, to ponder over the small print of the interesting passages from Yuan Chwān re-translated by Watters, while the latter's commentary is in normal type, is very vexatious.

(20) The Buddhist title *āyasmā* prefixt to the names of Apostles is the equivalent of the Christian *Saint*.

[Here ends] the Dialog on Wonders and Marvels, third [in a particular subdivision of the Middling Collection.] (21)

3. ANGELIC HERALDS AND THE PROPHECY OF AN AGED SAINT.

Luke II. 8—40.

And there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, and keeping watch by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them: Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people: for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord.

And this is the sign unto you: Ye shall find a babe wrapt in swaddling clothes, and

(21) In the Chinese the last part of this sutta is wanting and instead of it other marvels in Buddha's life, as for instance, the shade of a tree not removing from Buddha's seat, are stated. (A. M.)

lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying:

Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased.

And it came to pass, when the angels went away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing that is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found both Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in the manger. And when they saw it, they made known concerning the saying which was spoken to them about this child. And all that heard it wondered at the things which were spoken unto them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart. And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, even as it was spoken unto them.

And when eight days were fulfilled for circumcising him, his name was called Jesus, which was so called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present

3. ANGELIC HERALDS

him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord,) and to offer a sacrifice, according to that which is said in the law of the Lord : A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.

And behold there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and this man was righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came in the Spirit into the Temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might do concerning him after the custom of the law, then he received him into his arms, and blest God, and said:

Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord,

According to thy word, in peace;
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
Which thou hast prepared before the face
of all peoples;

A light for revelation to the Gentiles,
And the glory of thy people Israel.

And his father and his mother were marveling at the things which were spoken concerning him; and Simeon blest them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this [child]

is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel; and for a sign which is spoken against; yea and a sword shall pierce thru thine own soul; that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (she was of a great age, having lived with a husband seven years from her virginity, and she had been a widow even for four-score and four years), which departed not from the temple, worshiping with fastings and supplications night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem. And when they had accomplisht all things that were according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

And the child grew, and waxt strong, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him.

Collection of Discourses (Sutta Nipāto)

Stanzas 679-700.

First translated by Vincent Fausbøll of Copenhagen, the Nestor of Pāli scholars, in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X, Part 2, p. 124 seq.

3. ANGELIC HERALDS

- S. P. 1. N. C. No. 666, fifth century translation.
2. N. C. No. 664, translated A. D. 197.
3. N. C. No. 859 (1)

Rejoicing, delighted, the hosts of the Thirty,
Sakko the leader and angels white-stoled,
Seizing their robes and chanting high praises,
Did Asito the hermit see in noonday rest.

Seeing the angels with minds gladdened,
ecstatic,
He made obeisance and forthwith spake thus:
"Why is the assembly of the angels exceedingly pleased?
Wherefore do ye seize your robes and wave them?

"When there was a battle with the devils,
A victory for the angels and the devils defeated,
Then there was not such astonishment:
What portent is it the deities have seen that they rejoice?

"They shout and sing and make music,
They whirl their arms and dance:
I ask you, O dwellers upon Meru's height,
Remove my doubt quickly, O venerable ones!"

[The angels answer:]

(1) These three texts which seem to have supplied materials for the composition of the Lalita Vistara or must have descended from the same source as the latter have their respective corresponding passages to these stanzas of the Sutta Nipāto. No. 1

**“The Buddha-to-be, the best and matchless
jewel,
Is born for weal and welfare in the world of
men,
In the town of the Sākya, in the region of
Lumbinī :
Therefore are we joyful and exceeding glad.**

**“He, the highest of all beings, the head-person,
The chief(2) of men, the highest of all creatures,
Will set rolling the wheel [of religion] in the
hermit-named forest,**

gives the conversation between Asito and the angels in prose as narrated by Asito himself to the King Çuddhodana. This corresponds to stanzas 679-684.

The following part is much abridged in No. 1.

In No. 2, there is no conversation between Asito and the angels nor narration about it. He sees many wonders and comes down from his mountain abode to Kapilavastu. The following part, stanzas 685-694, is given partly in prose and partly in verse. This text mentions not Asito's nephew.

The name of the nephew (or disciple) is given in No. 3, as Nārada (or Nārana?, Naradatta in Lalita Vistara.) Stanzas 695-700 do not agree literally with the passage in No. 3, but in substance. The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya (N. C. 1121) gives, in its vol. 20, the same story in prose and verse. The verses are similar to those in the Sutta Nipāto, but not so much as to identify them. (A. M.)

Nos. 1 and 2 are clast among the Āgamas, in Nanjio's Catalog. A. J. E.

(2) Literally, bull.

3. ANGELIC HERALDS

Like the roaring mighty lion mastering the
deer."(3) (4)

Hearing that sound, he came down from the
Heaven of Content,

And entered Suddhodano's abode:

There seated he address the Sāy^sas thus:

"Where is the prince?(5) I desire to see him." 685

There was the prince like glowing gold,
Very skillfully wrought in the forge's mouth,
Blazing in glory and the lofty air of beauty:
Unto him named Asito the Sākyas showed
their son.

Seeing the prince aglow like flame,
Pure as the chief(6) of stars wandering in the
sky,
Like the burning sun in autumn free from
clouds,
He joyfully obtained great delight. 687

(3) Gotamo's first Sermon was in the Deer Park near Benāres.

(4) In the fifth-century Chinese, the passage corresponding to this stanza agrees perfectly with statement 17 of the Parallel No. 2 above, p. 178. (A. M.)

(5) This word may also be rendered "boy."

(6) Literally *Bull*.

The angels held in air a canopy,
Many-branched and thousand-ringed :
Chowries with golden staves were fanned ;
Unseen were they who carried the chowries
and the canopy.

The hermit with matted hair, called Kanhasiri,
When he saw the yellow trappings bright as a
golden piece,
And the white canopy held over the head,
Received him delighted and happy.

But when he had received the chief(6) of the
Sākyas,—
He who was wishing for him, and knew the
signs and the Hymns,—
With placid thoughts gave utterance to the
speech :
“This is the unrivalled One, the highest among
bipeds.”(7)

Then, remembering his own migration,
He was saddened and shed tears.
Seeing this, the Sākyas asked the weeping
hermit
Whether there were danger for the Prince.

Seeing the Sākyas sad, the hermit spake :
“I remember naught unhappy for the Prince:

692

(7) I prefer to be literal here, at the expense of a Western smile, because the association of men with animals is thoroly Buddhistic.

3. ANGELIC HERALDS

There will be no danger at all for him ;
He is no ordinary being. Be not dismayed.

“The Prince will reach the summit of perfect
enlightenment:

Seeing supernal purity, he will set rolling the
wheel of the Doctrine,

Out of pity, for the weal of the multitude,
And his religion will be prosperous. 693

“My life below will not be long,
And in the midst of it all my appointed time
will come :

I shall not hear the Doctrine of the peerless
leader;

Therefore am I afflicted, unfortunate, and suf-
fering.” 694

Having given much gladness to the Sākyas,
From the midst of the town he went forth to
lead the life of religion.

Taking pity on his nephew, 695
He caused him to accept the Doctrine of the
peerless leader.

“When thou hearest from others a rumor, say-
ing ‘Buddha,’—

One who hath reacht perfect enlightenment
and walketh the way of the Doctrine,—

Go thither thyself, and inquire thereon,
And lead the life of religion with that Blessed
One.” 696

Instructed by him, the friendly-minded,
By him who had seen in the future the super-
lative purity,
That same Nālako, with an accumulation of
merit,
Dwelt in watchfulness over his faculties, look-
ing forward to the Victor.

Hearing a voice while the Victor set rolling
the excellent wheel,
He went and saw the chiefest(8) of hermits ;
The excellent sage he askt about the best
sagacity,
When the time was come whereof he had been
instructed by him called Asito.

END OF THE THEME-VERSES(9)

This speech is acknowledged
To be Asito's exactly :
Therefore I inquire of thee, O Gotamo,
Who art perfect in all doctrine.

Unto me who go houseless,
Wishing for the mendicant life,
Explain to me when askt, O sage !
Sagacity, the highest path.

(8) Literally, bull.

(9) The King of Siam has "theme-narrative."

3. ANGELIC HERALDS

Kellogg, in his *Light of Asia and Light of the World* (London, 1885) disparages the parallel between Asito and Simeon (Luke II.) destroying it detail by detail. But he overlooks the connection of Asito with the account of the Angelic Heralds. It is this organic connection which establishes the parallel between the Nālaka Sutta and the Second of Luke. Moreover, the first and fifth verses of the Sutta must be read together with Luke II. 11 and 14. (See pp. 87, 88, above, and the whole of Section 3 of the Historical Introduction.)

Part II.

INITIATION AND COMMENCEMENT.

4. FASTING, AND ANGELIC MINISTRATION.

Matthew IV. 2 and 11.

And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he afterward hungered..... Then the devil leaveth him; and behold, angels came and ministered unto him.

Luke IV. 2.

And he did eat nothing in those days.

Mark I. 13.

And he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him.

Middling Collection No. 36. (S. P., N. C. 859.)

Translated into German, by Neumann, *Die Reden*, Vol. I.
pp. 389 f.

Then, O Aggivessano, the angels (*devatā*) saw me and said: "The philosopher Gotamo is dead." Other angels said: "He is not dead, but he is dying." Others again said: "He is neither dead nor dying, but an Arahāt is the philosopher Gotamo: such a mode of life is only that of an Arahāt." Then, Aggivessano, I thought: "What if I now fast entirely?" Forthwith there came unto me angels who said: "O worthy One, do not so, fast not entirely. But if thou do, we will instil angelic sap⁽¹⁾ thru thy pores: so shalt thou remain alive." Then, Aggivessano, I thought: "If now I were to fast entirely, these angels would instil angelic sap thru my pores, and I should thus remain alive, which on my part would be false." And then, Aggivessano, I cried back to the angels and said: "It is enough." (2)

Dr. Aiken was unfortunate in not using the Majjhima-Nikāyo when discussing the subject of the fast. (*Dhamma of Gotama*, p. 204.) He charges

(1) Neumann has "dew" (Thau).

(2) So far as I know there is in the Chinese no text corresponding to the Middling No. 36. Here I take a passage similar to that. The *Devatā* (or *Devaputra*) says: "There is fine heavenly food and drink here in my pores." (A. M.)

Seydel with doing violence to the legend by making the fast precede the Enlightenment, and he appeals to the Mahāvaggo in support of his charge. It is true, the Mahāvaggo relates that Gotamo sat in meditation under different trees for twenty-eight days after the Enlightenment, (presumably without eating), but the fast in question is the one related by Gotamo himself in our present text, and it *preceded* the Enlightenment.

5. ILLUMINATION.

Mark I. 9-11.

Translated from the text of Westcott and Hort.

And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth to Galilee, and was baptized of John in the Jordan. And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens rent asunder, and the spirit as a dove descending INTO him : and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 150, reads : "Thou art my beloved Son : THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE." (*Trypho*, 88.)

Luke III. 22.

Translated from the Cambridge Codex, (1) sixth century.

And the Holy Ghost descended INTO him in a bodily form, as a dove; and there was a voice out of the heaven: Thou art my son: THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE.

The writer to the Hebrews, when using the same words (Heb. I. 5) is quoting the Second Psalm, but there is just a possibility that he also had in mind the original Gospel reading of the words uttered at the Baptism. They agree in idea with the other reading given above: that, at the Illumination (as baptism was called among the early Christians) the Spirit "entered *into*" Jesus, i.e. his spiritual birth then took place. But when the doctrine of the virginal conception supplanted this earlier and simpler one, the word *ἐν*, *upon*, was substituted for *eis*, *into*; and it became heresy to maintain that the Holy Ghost entered the Lord at Baptism instead of at conception. Westcott and Hort, and indeed all scientific editors of the Greek text, read *eis*, in Mark I. 10, and I cannot understand why *The Twentieth Century New Testament*, which is generally so faithful to Hort's text, has here perpetuated the King James translation of "upon." It was doubtless such readings as this in

(1) Cambridge fac-simile, 1899, which, with a munificence worthy of a great world-center, the city of Philadelphia has placed freely at the service of scholars.

the original Mark that made this Gospel the favorite one with the Unitarian party among the early Christians, as related by Irenæus. (Hær. III. 11.)

Middling Collection, Dialog 36. (S. P. N. C. 859.)

After relating how he took food at the end of his fast, entered into the Four Trances (*Jhānas*) and gained the Three Knowledges, viz., insight into his former existences, intromission into the spiritual world, and arrival at the Four Truths about Suffering, Gotamo says :

This knowledge as the third, O Aggivesano, I reacht in the last watch of the night : ignorance was dissipated, knowledge arisen ; darkness dissipated, insight arisen, even as it is for one who dwells earnest, ardent and strenuous.

This is the regular account of the Enlightenment (*Sambodhi*), which recurs in several Dialogs of the Middling Collection, and also at the opening of the Book of Discipline, not yet translated.

Middling Collection, Dialog 26. (C. T. 204.)

Translated into English by Warren, p. 338 ; and into German by Neumann, Vol. I. p. 266.

Now, monks, did I wander seeking what was good, searching for the incomparable, supernal path of rest, wandering from place to

place in the land of Magadhā, and I proceeded to the fortified town of Uruvelā. There did I see a delightful spot of earth: a pleasant wooded landscape, a clear flowing river, fit to bathe in, delightful, with pasturage around (or, a resort for alms near by.) Then, monks, did I think: "Delightful indeed is this spot of earth; pleasant the wooded landscape; the river flows clear, fit for bathing, delightful, with pasturage around. It is sufficient for the strenuous life unto a noble youth desirous thereof." And I sat down there, saying: "This is sufficient for the strenuous life."

Then, monks, did I, who by myself was subject unto birth, marking the misery thereof, search for and find the birthless incomparable yoga-calm of Nirvāṇa; marking the misery of decay, disease, death, sorrow and corruption, whereto I was subject, I sought and found the incomparable yoga-calm of Nirvāṇa, without decay, without disease, deathless, painless, unsullied. Then within me did arise the knowledge and insight:

"Immovable is my emancipation. This is my last existence; I shall now be born no more!"

And I thought, O monks: "I have attained unto this doctrine, which is profound, hard to perceive and understand, quiet, refined, beyond the sphere of reason, recondite, felt only by the wise."

Then follows Gotamo's hesitation about preaching his religion to the sensual world, and the descent from heaven of the Supreme Brahmā to beseech him to preach it. (See Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, pp. 84-86). Like others of our Parallels, the present one is psychologic, not literary : the same mental crisis in the lives of the Masters is meant, and is met by each according to the needs and motions of his country's mind.

6. TEMPTATIONS OF EMPIRE AND POWER TO TRANSMUTE MATTER.

Luke IV. 3-8.

And the devil said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, command this stone that it become bread. And Jesus answered unto him, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone. And he led him up and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, To thee will I give all this authority and the glory of them : for it hath been delivered unto me ; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou there-

6. TEMPTATIONS

fore wilt worship before me, it shall all be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.

Luke again agrees with the Pāli by associating these two temptations, whereas Matthew dissociates them.

Book of Temptations. *Chapter on Dominion.*
(C. T., in *Samyuktāgama.*)

Translated in substance by Oldenberg, in his *Buddha* : English edition, 1882, p. 312. Windisch translates fully, together with the whole of the Book of Temptations, in his *Māra und Buddha* : Leipzig, 1895.

At one season the Lord was staying in the land of the Kosalā, among the Himālayas, in a log-hut. While thus living in hermitage retired, the reflection arose within him : "It is really possible to exercise dominion by righteousness, without slaying or causing slaughter; without oppression or the making thereof; without sorrow or the infliction thereof."

Then Māro, the Evil One, perceived in his heart the thought which had arisen in the heart of the Lord and he approacht the Lord and spake thus : "Lord, may the Lord exercise dominion; may the Auspicious One exercise dominion by righteousness without slaying or causing slaughter; without oppression or the making thereof; without sorrow or the infliction thereof."

"What seest thou in me, O Evil One, that thou speakest thus to me?"

"Lord, the Lord hath practised the four principles of psychical power, hath developed them, made them active and practical, pursued them, accumulated, and striven to the height thereof. So, Lord, if the Lord desired, he could turn the Himālaya, the monarch of mountains, into very gold, and gold would the mountain be."

[Buddha replies:]

"The whole of a mountain of gold, of fine gold,

Twofold, were not enough for one:

Let him who knoweth this govern his life.

He who hath seen Pain and whence its rise,

How could such an one bow to lusts?

He who knoweth that the substratum of existence is what is called in the world 'attachment',

Let that man train himself in the subdual thereof."

Then Māro, the Evil One, said: "The Lord knows me; the Auspicious One knows me." And he vanished thence, unhappy and disconsolate.

**7. FOUNDING A SPIRITUAL EMPIRE
AND PREACHING A GOSPEL.**

Mark I. 14, 15. Now after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe in the gospel.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 6.

Translated by Davids and Oldenberg in S. B. E. XIII, p. 91.
(C. T., Dharmagupta Vinaya, Nanjio 1117.)

**To found a spiritual empire I go unto
Benāres:**

**I will beat the drum of the Immortal in
the darkness of the world.**

“To found spiritual empire” is literally, *to set rolling a spiritual wheel*, but the word “wheel” means also, by metaphor, dominion. Buddha’s First Sermon is always called “Spiritual Wheel-turning Discourse”, i. e. The Founding of the Spiritual Empire. In Chinese versions, says Anesaki, *dharmacakka* is always rendered by “wheel of the Law.”

Hymns of the Faith, 194.

**Blessed is the arising of the Buddhas,
Blessed the preaching of the Gospel.**

Saddhammo (Sanskrit, *Saddharma*) good doctrine, or good law, is a common epithet of the Buddhist religion and a perfect equivalent of the Christian word *Gospel*. There are many discourses in the Numerical Collection about the causes of the Gospel's decline. In the Chinese version, says Anesaki, we read "the Way of the Sūtras", instead of "Gospel."

8. MESSIANIC PROPHECY: ART THOU THE COMING ONE ?

Luke VII. 16-19.

(Here again Luke is closer to the Pali than the parallel in Matthew XI.)

And fear took hold on all : and they glorified God, saying, A great prophet is arisen among us : and, God hath visited his people. And this report went forth concerning him in the whole of Judea, and all the region round about.

And the disciples of John told him of all these things. And John calling unto him two

8. MESSIANIC PROPHECY

of his disciples sent them to the Lord, saying,
Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?

Long Collection, Dialog No. 3 (C. T. 20).

Translated by Rhys Davids: Dialogs, p. 109.

Now, at that season a young Brahmin of the Ambattho [clan] was a pupil under the Brahmin Pokkharasādi, and he was a reciter, knowing by heart the Vedic Hymns,⁽¹⁾ master of the three Vedas, &c.....

And Pokkharasādi the Brahmin address the young brahmin Ambattho, saying: "Dear Ambattho, this philosopher Gotamo, the Sākya man, who has gone forth as a hermit from a Sākya family, is wandering about in the land of the Kosalā with a great congregation of monks, with some five hundred monks, and has arrived at Icchānaṅkala, where he is staying in the grove of that name. Now, regarding that Gotamo, the following glorious report has gone abroad: That Lord is a Holy One, a supremely Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom in conduct; auspicious, knowing the universe; an incomparable charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, a Blessed Buddha. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiends and

(1) *Mantadharo*, literally, "carrying the Mantras."

its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples. He preaches his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the goal, in the spirit and the letter. He proclaims a religious life wholly perfect and thoroly pure ; and good is it to pay visits to such holy ones. Come, now, dear Ambattho, go to the philosopher Gotamo, and find out whether the report gone abroad regarding him be true or not : whether Gotamo be such as they say or not. In this way we shall get to know about him."

"But Sir, how shall I know whether Gotamo be so or not?"

"Ambattho, there have come down in our Vedic Hymns thirty-two marks of a Great Soul,(2) and to any great soul possest thereof only two destinies are possible : If he adopt the domestic life, he will become a king, a righteous world-ruler, a king of righteousness ; victorious to the shores of the four seas, arrived at the security of his country, and possest of the seven treasures, which are these : the Wheel (or, Empire), the Elephant, the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the Treasurer, and, for the seventh, the Counsellor. He will have more than a thousand sons, heroes, of mighty frame, crushers of alien armies. He will dwell in this ocean-girt earth overcoming it, staffless

(2) Or, Ideal Manhood. Compare "the Son of Humanity" of Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels.

8. MESSIANIC PROPHECY

and swordless, by righteousness.(3) But if, on the other hand, he go forth from the domestic life into the homeless one, he will become a Holy One, a fully Enlightened One, who lifts the veil from the world.”(4)

We here see that the Hindū Messianic prophecy, like the Hebrew, left it uncertain whether the Coming One was to be a temporal or a spiritual potentate. We may also observe that, just as in the New Testament,(5) we find oracles quoted as if from sacred writ which are not found therein, so, too, in the Buddhist Scriptures, there are oracles, like our present one, not found in the canon of the Vedas.

(3) Cf. Isaiah XI. 4.

(4) Cf. Mark IV. 22.

(5) For instance, Mark IX. 13, an uncanonical prophecy about Elijah, which Rendel Harris has found in a collection of Jewish lore, ascribed to Philo, published at Basle in 1527.

9. LOOKING FOR MESSIAH.

Luke X. 23-24.

And turning to the disciples, he said privately, Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

Matth. XIII. 16-17.

But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear. For verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

Cf. also Luke II. 25 and 38.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 22.

(C. T., Nanjio, No. 1117.)

Translated in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 140.

Now Seniyo Bimbisāro, the king of Magadhā, having seen and graspt and known and penetrated the truth, having past beyond all doubt and cavil, having gained full confidence, dependent upon no one for the Master's holy lore, spake thus unto the Lord :

"Lord, in the days when I was a prince, I

had five wishes, and they are now fulfilled. I wisht that I might be inaugurated as king (literally, *sprinkled for the sovereignty*). This, Lord, was my first wish, and now it is fulfilled. And then might the Holy Supreme Buddha descend into my kingdom. This, Lord, was my second wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might I reverently approach the presence of that Lord. This, Lord, was my third wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might that Lord preach his religion unto me. This was my fourth wish, and this is now fulfilled. And might I understand the religion of the Lord. This was my fifth wish, and now it is fulfilled.”(6)

Middling Collection, Dialog 130. (C. T. 64.)

Translated from the parallel passage in the Numerical Collection
by Warren, p. 258.

In a former existence, O monks, King Yamo thought to himself: “All those, alas! who do wicked deeds in the world must suffer such manifold retribution! Oh, that I may become a man, and a Tathāgato arise in the world, a Holy Supreme Buddha; and that I

(6) The Mahīśāsaka Vinaya omits this story. Our text quoted here from the Dharmagupta Vinaya counts six wishes, the fourth of which expresses the wish to become delighted with the interview with the Buddha. (A. M.)

may sit at the feet of the Lord, and the Lord may preach his religion unto me, and I understand the religion of the Lord !”

Now this, O monks, that I speak, I heard not from any one else, whether philosopher or brahmin ; but, monks, what I myself have known and seen and understood, that alone I speak.

Thus spake the Lord.

Part III.

MINISTRY AND ETHICS.

10. THE LOGIA.

JESUS SAITH is the formula in the Egyptian Logia-fragment found in 1897, and is of frequent occurrence in the Gospels. The ancient Christian Logia-Book, or primitive Gospel of Matthew mentioned by Papias (Eusebius, H. E. iii. 39) is lost; but the Buddhists are more fortunate in having their Logia-Book extant. It is called the Itivuttaka, that is, the *Thus-Said*. (Chinese version, N. C. No. 714). (1) Its antiquity is attested not only by

(1) The Chinese Itivrtika (Sæc. VII.) contains the following sections and sūtras :

1. Ekanipāto	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 34 \\ \text{II. } 26 \end{array} \right\}$	60.	
2. Dvinipāto	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 18 \\ \text{II. } 17 \\ \text{III. } 14 \end{array} \right\}$	49.	
3. Trinipāto	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I. } 13 \\ \text{II. } 15 \end{array} \right\}$	28.	Total 137 sūtras:

Among these we find the following suttas of the Pāli wanting in the Chinese :—

22 (Ek. III. 2),	43 (Duk. II. 6.),	
50-58 (Tik. I. 1-9),	61 (Tik. II. 2.),	
63-73 (Tik. II. 4-III. 4),	75 (Tik. III. 6.),	
77-78 (Tik. III. 8-9),	81 (Tik. IV. 2.),	
87-88 (Tik. IV. 8-9),	92-94 (Tik. V. 3-5),	
96 (Tik. V. 7),	99 (Tik. V. 10).	Total 34.

the internal evidence of terseness and simplicity, but by the external evidence that the name itself is one of the ancient Nine Divisions of the Scriptures which antedate the present arrangement of the Pāli Canon. The formulæ of the Itivuttaka are the following :—

1. This was said by the Lord, said by the Holy One, and heard by me.

2. This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus [in verse.]

3. Exactly this is the meaning spoken by the Lord, and thus it was heard by me.

These three formulæ accompany each of the first 79 paragraphs (*suttas*) of the Itivuttaka ; No. 80 has the first two formulæ only ; Nos. 81-88 have none of them ; Nos. 89 and 90 have all ; Nos. 91-98

The Catukkanipāto as a whole is wanting in the Chinese. Nevertheless some of its suttas are found in the Chinese, incorporated in other Nipātos. They are :

Pali 106 (Cat. 7), in Chinese Dvin. II. 17.

“ 107 (Cat. 8), in “ “ II. 8.

Other sections, both Pāli and Chinese, occur in other parts of the Canon, tho wanting in the Itivuttaka :—

Pali 64-65 (Tik. II. 5-6)=Chinese Ekottara, Chapter 21, sūtra 8.

Chinese Ek. II. 24-25=Numerical Collection I. 17.

“ Dvi. II. 5=Ariyapariyesana (part, M. Vol. I. pp. 162-163).

“ Tik. I. 5=Numerical Collection III. 81.

“ “ “ 6= “ “ “ 88-89.

“ “ “ 13= “ “ “ 84. (A.M.)

have none; Nos. 99-100 have all; Nos. 101-111 have none; the closing sutta, No. 112, has all three. Five of the suttas that want the formulæ (Nos. 101, 105, 108, 110, 111) are found in the Numerical Collection, as well as two where they have been supplied (Nos. 90 and 112). It is therefore probable that the original Itivuttaka has been added to, and this is borne out by the fact that the suttas increase in length towards the end. Moreover, the suttas borrowed from the Numerical Collection all occur *after* No. 80, where the formulæ cease to be regular.(2)

The earlier part of the Itivuttaka appears to be of great antiquity. Its themes are found all thru the Canon in a more developed form, but they are here expressed with a terse simplicity and with the solemn deposition in each case that Buddha spoke them.

(2) If it be said that the Anguttara borrowed certain suttas because they were numerical, the fact confronts us that Nos. 108 and 110 to 112 are not numerical; while Nos. 1-6, which are not borrowed at all, one would expect to find in the Eka-Nipāto.

II. ESOTERIC AND EXOTERIC.

Mark IV. 10, 11; 33, 34. And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve askt of him the parables. And he said unto them, Unto you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all things are done in parables. * * * And with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to hear it: and without a parable spake he not unto them: but privately to his own disciples he expounded all things.

p. 261^{c2} Middling Collection, Dialog 143. (C. T. No. 28). No such religious discourse, O householder, is revealed unto white-stoled householders: it is revealed unto hermits (*pabbajitā*.)

This is spoken by Sāriputto, who has equal authority with Buddha. The latter, however, in the Decease Book, repudiates any distinction between esoteric and exoteric.

12. THE GOLDEN RULE.

Luke VI. 31. As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.

Luke is closer to the Pāli than Matthew, who adds the phrase about the Law and the Prophets.

Romans XII. 15, 16.

Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another.

Hymns of the Faith, 129 and 130. (C. T., Nanjio 1365.)

Translated by Max Müller: S. B. E., Vol. X, Part 1, p. 36.

All men tremble at the rod, all men fear death:
Putting oneself(3) in the place of others, kill
not nor cause to kill.

All men tremble at the rod, unto all men life is
dear :

Doing as one would be done by, kill not nor
cause to kill.

(3) "Putting oneself in the place of others," and "doing as one would be done by," are variant translations of *attānam upamam katvā*, i.e. "having made oneself a likeness." Fernand Hu, in his French translation, renders the phrase each time: *Qu'on fasse ce qu'on voudrait que fit autrui*.

Collection of Discourses, Stanzas 148-150.

(S. P. in Chinese Dhammapada). (4)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. X. part 2, p. 25.

It is also in the Short Recital, a manual for novices.

As a mother her own son,
Her only son, at risk of life would guard,
Even so toward all beings
Let one practise infinite sympathy(5)
In all the world;
Let him practise a purpose unbounded,
Above, below and across,
Unhindered, without hate or enmity.
Whether standing, walking or sitting,
Or lying down, so long as he keeps off sloth,
Unto this mindfulness let him devote him-
self:
This mode of life divine they call.

(4) Also found in N. C. No. 1353. These lines of the Chinese Dharmapada occur in the first part of it which is wanting in the Pāli. The Chapter (No. 7 and called "the Love") in which these verses occur may be another version of Metta-sutta of Khandha-paritta. (Frankfurter, p. 90-91.) (A. M.)

• (5) Literally, "unbounded friendly mind (or purpose.)"

13. LOVE YOUR ENEMIES.

Luke VI. 27-28.

But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you.

Luke again is closer to the Pāli : Matthew adds the clause : that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven, &c.

Hymns of the Faith, 3-5. (C. T., Nanjio 1365.)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. X, Part 1, p. 4.

"He abused me, he beat me,
Overcame me, robbed me."
In those who harbor such thoughts
Their anger is not calmed.
Not by anger are angers
In this world ever calmed :
By meekness⁽¹⁾ are they calmed.
This is an ancient doctrine.

Hymns of the Faith, 223. (C. T., Nanjio 1365.)

S. B. E. Vol. X, Part 1, p. 58.

See also Jātaka 151, where a story is based upon the precept.

Let one conquer wrath by meekness,⁽¹⁾
Let one conquer wrong by goodness,
Let one conquer the mean man by a gift,
And a liar by the truth.

(1) Literally, "non-anger." But this is merely an etymological negative, like "immortality."

Middling Collection, Dialog 21. (C. T., No. 193.)

Phagguno, if any one in the presence of the nuns⁽²⁾ were to give thee a blow with hand, clod, staff or sword, thou shouldst renounce all common feelings and reflections, and train thyself in the thought: "My heart shall not be altered; I will not let an evil speech escape, but continue kind and compassionate, with a loving heart instead of a hateful one."

*

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*

Monks, if robbers or murderers should cut you asunder, limb from limb, with a two-handled saw, then whosoever should fall into a rage would not be following my instruction. In such case, O monks, you should train yourselves to think: "Our heart shall not be altered; we will not let an evil speech escape, but continue kind and compassionate, with loving hearts instead of hateful ones; and we will continue to suffuse that individual with thoughts of love; we will continue to suffuse that object and the whole wide world with thoughts of love, widespread, grown great, measureless, without anger or malice."

(2) Phagguno has been threatening vengeance on any one who should insult the young ladies.

This valuable text has been pointed out to me by Ko Mya Tha Htūn of Rangūn.

14. NON-RESISTANCE.

Matthew XXVI. 52. Then saith Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place : for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

John XVIII. 36. Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.

Hymns of the Faith, 184-185. (C. T., the same. Verse 185 is rendered into Chinese in seven padas, but identical in substance.)

Patience and longsuffering
Are the supreme asceticism—
Supreme Nirvana, say the Buddhas :
For he is not an hermit who hurteth another,
Not a philosopher who annoyeth another.

Meekness, non-resistance,
Restraint under the Confessional,
Temperance in eating, secluded residence,
And devotion to high thought :
This is the religion of the Buddhas.

Ditto 399. (C. T. the same ; agreement perfect.)
Whoso, though innocent, endures abuse,
Yea, stripes and bonds,—
Patience his power and power his army,—
Him I call a Brahmin.

Long Collection, Dialogs 1-13. (C. T. Nos. 20-29, identified by Nanjio, tho in a different order from the Pāli.)

Renouncing destruction of life and abstaining therefrom, *the philosopher Gotamo has laid aside the staff and the sword*; is modest, merciful, and dwells in kindness and compassion for all beings that have life.

Hymns of the Faith, 201. (C. T. the same ;
agreement perfect.)

Victory breedeth anger,
For in pain the vanquisht lieth ;
Lieth happy the man of peace,
Renouncing victory and defeat.

15. SELF-DENIAL.

Mark VIII. 34, 35. If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it.

Classified Collection XXXVIII. 1; XXXIX. 1.
(XXXVIII. 1=C. T., Nanjio, No. 544: IV. Sāvaka-vaggo, 1:
Sāriputta-Samyutta, No. 7. XXXIX. 1=ditto, No. 41.)

St. Sariputto was staying at the village of Nālako in Magadhā, and on another occasion among the Vajjians at Ukkavelā, upon the shore of the River Ganges.

Now on the first occasion the hermit Rose-apple-eater, and on the second the hermit Sāmandako, approacht him, and having exchanged the usual greetings sat on one side. And so sitting, the hermit in each case said unto St. Sāriputto: "Brother Sariputto, there is something called Nirvāna. What is Nirvāna?"

"Brother, destruction of passion, destruction of hatred, destruction of folly: this is called Nirvāna."

Middling Collection, Dialog 72.

Translated by Warren, p. 125.

I say that the Tathāgato is emancipated, by reason of the destruction of, detachment from, cessation, resignation, forsaking, and relinquishment of, all imaginings, all agitations and proud inclinations toward everything that maketh I and Me.

16. THE PURE IN HEART SEE GOD.

Matthew V. 8. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

Long Collection, Dialog 19. (C. T. No. 3.)

[A brahmin speaks]. He who goes into solitude for four months in a year, and practises the meditation on Pity, sees God (Brahmā) and converses with him, talks with him, consults with him.

Numerical Collection IV. 190.(1)

[Buddha speaks in the Eastern Park at Sāvatti.]

Monks, how can a monk attain to God?(2)

In this case, O monks, a monk diffuses his mind into the four quarters of the world, one after another, with thoughts of LOVE; and thus the whole wide world—above, below, around and on all sides—he continues to suffuse with loving thought, far-reaching, grown great, immeasurable, without anger or malice. Then he diffuses his mind into the four quarters of the world, in the same way, with thoughts of PITY; then of SYMPATHY; and finally, of EQUANIMITY. In this way, O monks, does a monk attain unto God.

(1) ~~Apasaki~~ notes this as apparently wanting in the Chinese.

(2) *Brahmāpatta hoti.* It is generally rendered, "attain to the world of Brahmā," but the word *world* is not in the Pali.

17. TREASURE IN HEAVEN.

Matthew VI. 19, 20.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break thru and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break thru nor steal.

Luke XII. 21 and 33.

So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.....

Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth.

From the Treasure Chapter in the Short Recital.

S. P. in Chinese Dhammapada (N. C. 1365.)

Let the wise man do righteousness :

A treasure that others can share not,

Which no thief can steal;

A treasure which passeth not away.(1)

(1) Cf. the Tibetan Udānavarga V. 23 : Lay up, therefore, good works in view of the other world; for it is good works that receive beings in the other world. Cf. Dhp. 220.

18. RAVENING WITHIN.

Matthew VII. 15.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.

Luke XI. 39.

And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness.

In the Matthean parallel to this passage in Luke XI. (viz., Matth. XXIII. 25) we read: **Within they are full, i.e. the cup and platter.** Luke, as usual, agrees with the Pāli.

Hymns of the Faith, 394. (C. T., in Chinese).

Translated in S. B. E. X, Part 1. p. 90).

**What use to thee is matted hair, O fool !
What use the goat-skin garment ?
Within thee there is ravening ;
The outside thou makest clean.**

19. THE MISSIONARY CHARGE.

Mark VI. 7-13.

And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two; and he gave them authority over the unclean spirits; and he charged them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money in their purse; but to go shod with sandals; and, said he, put not on two coats. And he said unto them, Wheresoever ye enter into a house, there abide till ye depart thence. And whatsoever place shall not receive you, and they hear you not, as ye go forth thence, shake off the dust that is under your feet for a testimony unto them. And they went out, and preacht that men should repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.

Matthew XXVIII. 19, 20.

Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, (baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost ;) teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the consummation of the age.

Luke X. 1.

Now after these things the Lord appointed seventy others, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself was about to come.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 10, 11.

Translated in S. B. E. XIII. p. 112.

S. P. (N. C. No. 680). (1)

At that time there were sixty-one Arahats in the world.(2)

And the Lord said unto the monks: "I am delivered, O monks, from all fetters, human and divine. Ye, O monks, are also delivered therefrom. Go forth, O monks, on your journey, for the weal and the welfare of much people, out of compassion for the world, and for the wealth and the weal and the welfare of angels and mortals. Go no two of you the same [way](3). Preach, O monks, the Doc-

(1) Two Chinese Vinaya texts (N. C. Nos. 1117 and 1122,) preserve this passage in simpler manner. Here we take the correspondence from the Chinese Mahāvastu (N. C. No. 680) which in this respect agrees best with the Pali. Further compare my book on Buddhism, pp. 50-51. (A. M.)

(2) Rendel Harris suggests a parallel, if not a connection, with Luke's Seventy who went to the Gentiles, the 70 nations of Hebrew tradition. "As the hammer that strikes emits a multitude of sparks, so is every word emanating from the Holy One—Blessed be He—heralded in seventy different languages." (Babylonian Talmud, Tract Sabbath, chap. 9.)

(3) In *Māra und Buddha*, p. 91, Windisch translates into German: Let not two go at once.

trine which is glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the end, in the spirit and the letter. Proclaim a religious life wholly perfect and thoroly pure. There are beings whose mental eyes are darkened by hardly any dust, but unless they hear the Doctrine they will perish. They will understand it."

Paul Carus has pointed out to me the significant fact that the preaching of the Gospel to the nations is a later addition to the New Testament. This is borne out by the archaic oracle in Matthew :

Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.....Ye shall not have gone thru the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come. (The Missionary Charge in Matthew X. 5-6 and 23).

It is Luke alone who invents the mission of the Seventy (i.e. to the seventy nations of the world, according to Jewish geography). As I pointed out in April, 1900, there is a parallel here with the sixty-one Arahats sent forth by Gotamo. That Luke invented the story of the Seventy is betrayed by himself, for, in XXII. 35, he agrees with the Petrine and Matthean tradition, in ascribing the prohibition of shoes to the Charge to the Twelve from which he has wrested them to make up his ideal Charge to the Seventy :

When I sent you forth without purse and

wallet and shoes, lackt ye any thing? And they said, Nothing.

Luke puts the words,—no purse, no wallet, no shoes, into the Charge to the Seventy (X. 4), while in the Charge to the Twelve he reads: nor wallet, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats. But there is no mention of shoes. (Luke ix. 3.)

In the Gospel tradition generally the great Missionary Charge is the one given after the resurrection:

Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the **name** of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. (Matth. XXVIII. 19).

The Trinitarian formula betrays the lateness of the redaction, but the passage is older than the redaction, for the substance of it is found in the Fourth Gospel: **Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you.** (John XX. 21). I have little doubt that the Matthean charge read originally: **baptizing them into my name**, simply; to which Rendel Harris assented when, in 1900, I pointed this out to him. After reading the present statement (*Open Court*, September, 1902) he wrote to me as follows:—"In regard to the last verse of Matthew, we are now in a position to speak more positively. As the result of Conybeare's examination of the manner in which Eusebius quotes the closing passage, it may be

taken as proved that the Old Cesarean form was as follows :

Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach them everything that I have commanded you.

See Preuschen's *Zeitschrift* II. p. 275.

So there was not even a baptismal command, any more than a mention of the Trinity."

As a Christian believer (tho attacht to no sect or church whatever) I personally maintain that the post-resurrection missionary charge is no mere fiction introduced to imitate Buddhism (granting that even the catholic Luke knew thereof,) but a reality. It is my conviction, after long research and thinking, that the Lord Jesus was vividly present, in some guise—whether palpable or visionary matters little—to his disciples after death, and especially to Peter. I believe too that he imprest their minds with his wishes, which had expanded since the days when he forbade ministrations to Samaritans and pagans. Unfortunately the account of the great appearance to Peter has been lost, if not suppress by the Church. It probably contained the Charge to Peter (misplaced in Matthew XVI.) and some matter relating to the descent into Hades mentioned in Peter's Epistle. But this leads us to the question of the lost ending of Mark, and is out of place here. I will only quote the proof-texts for an apparition to Peter :

Mark XVI. 7. Go, tell his disciples and

**Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee :
there shall ye see him.**

(Cf. also Mark XIV. 28, fortified by the parallel in Matthew, but weakened by its omission in the Vienna Gospel-fragment from Egypt.)

1 Cor. XV. 5. He appeared to Cephas.

Luke XXIV. 34. The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

Eusebius, H. E. II. 1. "Clement [of Alexandria].....in the seventh book [of his Institutions] writes also thus :

'The Lord transmitted the Gnosis unto James the Just, John and Peter after his resurrection.' "

Shahrastāni of Persia, A. D. 1150.

"After he was dead and crucified, he returned, and Simon Peter saw him, and he spake with him, and transmitted to him the power. Then he left the world and ascended into heaven, and Simon Peter was his vicar." (Haarbrücker, Vol. 1, page 261).

20. BAPTISM,
AND SPIRITUAL BAPTISM.

Matthew III. 14.

John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me ?

John IV. 2.

Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (S. P. in Chinese Ekottara.)
Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XI,
p. 109. (1)

Now Subhaddo the hermit said unto St. Ānando: "Lucky, friend Ānando, very fortunate, friend Ānando, are ye who have here been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in the presence of the Master !"

Tho this expression be figurative—for there is no such rite in the Book of Discipline—yet it implies the practise as existing at the time of Gotamo. The commentator Buddhaghoso, in the fifth cen-

(1) The Chinese Dirgha (No. 2) has all the paragraphs about Subhaddo except 66 and 67. Instead of 66 it has: Buddha said to Subhadra: As I have told you (the ordination) depends upon the person (to be ordained). 67 is omitted here. Other versions of the Decease Book, (N. C. No. 543, No. 552, No. 118, No. 119), have long passages about Subhadra's ordination, but without mentioning the sprinkling. (A. M.)

V. 67
Transl.
Text
xvi. 5. 30
p. 152

tury, quotes older writers as saying that Ānando poured water over Subhaddo's head. See note in S. B. E. XI, p. 110. The introduction to S. B. E. XLV. gives an account of Hindū Baptist theories.

Mark I. 7, 8.

There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I baptized you with water; but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.

Classified Collection VII. 2. 11. (Wanting in Chinese.)

Place: Sāvatti.

On this occasion there was a Brahmin named Saṅgāravo living at Sāvatti, and he was a Baptist (literally, a **water-purity-man**), and believed in purity by means of water. He continued devoted to the practise of descent into the water, evening and morning.

Now St. Ānando, having drest betimes, took bowl in robe and entered Sāvatti for alms. And having traversed the city and returned from the quest of alms, in the afternoon he called on the Lord, saluted him and sat on one side. And so sitting St. Ānando said unto the Lord: "Master, there is living here in Sāvatti a Brahmin named Saṅgāravo, who is a Baptist and believes in purity by water: he

continues devoted to the practise of descent into the water evening and morning. Good Master, may the Lord, out of compassion, call at the abode of Saṅgāravo the Brahmin."

The Lord consented by being silent.

Then the Lord having drest betimes took bowl in robe and called at the abode of Saṅgāravo the Brahmin, and sat on a seat prepared for him. And the Brahmin, approaching the Lord, exchanged civilities with him, and then sat on one side. While he so sat, the Lord asked him: "Brahmin, is it true that you are a Baptist and believe in purity by water? Do you continue devoted to the practise of descent into the water evening and morning?"

"Yes, Gotamo."

"What significance do you see, Brahmin, in being a Baptist and in water-purity? Why do you continue this practise evening and morn?"

"Well, Gotamo, the fact is that whatever bad deed I have done during the day I wash away at evening by ablution; and whatever bad deed I have done in the night I wash away at morning by ablution. This is the significance, Gotamo, that I see in being a Baptist and why I believe in purity by water. And so I continue devoted to the practise of descent into the water evening and morn."

[Buddha said:]

p. 183

“Religion is a lake, O Brahmin, and ethics is the baptistry⁽²⁾ thereof,

Untroubled, esteemed by the wisest of the wise,

Where indeed Vedic scholars their ablutions make :

As those who cross with limbs unwet unto the farther shore !”

[Whereupon the Brahmin is converted on the spot.]

In the Numerical Collection X. 107, there is a text beginning : **Monks, there is in the southern countries a practise called Baptism (or, washing away.)** It is performed with feasting and amusements ; but Buddha says it is not true Baptism ; but I, monks, will show you the noble Baptism. This leads to Nirvāṇa. According to the commentator, the ceremony in question was not baptism of the living body, but a washing of the bones of the dead. It was in a country where cremation was not practised, and this bone-washing was performed by exhumation after burial.

(2) *Tittho* : Sanskrit *tīrtha*, a sacred bathing-place.

21. VIGIL.

Mark I. 35.

In the morning, a great while before day, he rose up and went out, and departed into a desert place, and there prayed.

Mark VI. 46-48.

He departed into the mountain to pray..... About the fourth watch of the night he cometh unto them.

Luke VI. 12.

He went out into the mountain to pray; and he continued all night in prayer to God.

Mark XIV. 37, 38.

And he cometh and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst thou not watch one hour? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

"Watch," *γρηγορέω*, Latin *vigilo*, means to keep vigil. An examination of the New Testament passages where the word occurs is very instructive.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 1.

(C. T., N. C. 1122. Cf. 1117.)

Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XIII, p. 74. Same passage in
Enunciations I. 1-3.

The Lord sat in the posture of meditation for seven days, enjoying the bliss of deliverance; and at the end of that period he arose from the trance and thought out the Chain of Causation, in direct and reverse order, *during the first watch of the night.....And again during the middle watch.....And again during the last.*

Enunciations VI. 9.

(S. P., N. C. 546, corresponding to *Samyutta* II. 2.8.)

Thus have I heard. Once the Lord was staying at Sāvatti, in the Victor's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And at that season the Lord was sitting throughout the thick darkness of the night in the open air, with oil-lamps burning.

See also Enunciations I. 7, translated below, Parallel 71; also S. B. E., Vol. XX, p. 299.

22. TRANCE.

Peter

Acts X. 10, 11. And he became hungry, and desired to eat; but while they made ready, he fell into a trance, and he beholdeth the heaven opened, etc.

Long Collection, Dialog 6.

Translated by T.W. Rhys Davids: Dialogs, 1899, p. 200, § 10, 11.

(The translation is much condensed, by the omission of epithets repeated, in the Pali, from previous discourse. Anesaki reports the passage as lacking in the Chinese.)

In some cases, O Mahāli, a monk practises the trance (*samādhi*) with the double purpose of seeing divine forms—lovely, ravishing, fascinating—whether eastward, southward, westward, northward, above, below, or across, and of hearing divine sounds—lovely, ravishing, fascinating.

Of course this is not the true object of trance, as the sermon proceeds the show. Its aim is Nirvāṇa. Be it observed that Peter's trance is accidental, but Buddha's induced.

Enunciations III. 4.

(The Book of Enunciations has not been found in Chinese.)

THUS HAVE I HEARD. Once the Lord was staying at the Victor's Grove, the cloister-

garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And on that occasion St. Sāriputto was sitting not far from the Lord, with his feet turned under him, straining his body straight, looking right before him, inducing mental collectedness (*sati*). And the Lord saw him thus, and knowing the meaning thereof, he gave vent, upon that occasion, to this Enunciation :—

“Even as a rocky mountain unshaken
standeth firm,
So a monk, from the destruction of folly,
like to the mountain, trembleth not.”

Sati is the act of collecting the scattered forces of the mind and bringing them to a focus upon some one object of meditation, while *samādhi*, or trance, is the sustained rapture thus induced. Both states are conscious, tho the second not physically so. The first one has long been known to the Christian world thru the Society of Friends, and probably the second also, at least in the seventeenth century. Their importance in Buddhism may be appreciated by the fact that they are the last two steps in the Noble Eightfold Path of Gotamo's First Sermon.

23. CELIBACY.

Matthew XIX. 10-12.

The disciples say unto him, If the case of the man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry. But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb : and there are eunuchs, which were made eunuchs by men : and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

I Corinthians VII. 32, 33.

I would have you to be free from cares. He that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord : but he that is married is careful for the things of the world, how he may please his wife.

In this famous chapter, for which Paul disclaims inspiration, the monastic ideal of later Christendom is foreshadowed.

Long Collection, Dialog 16 :
Book of the Great Decease, V. 23.

Translated in S. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 91.
S. T., in Chinese Ekottara, i.e. Numerical Collection. (1)

Lord, how shall we behave toward womankind ?

(1) The Chinese Dirgha omits this part (Cf. S. B. E. Vol. XI. p. xxxviii). In other versions this is either omitted or given simply expressing the necessity of Chastity. (A. M.)

Don't see them, Ānando.

But, Lord, if we do see them, how then?

Don't speak to them, Ānando.

But, Lord, if we have to speak, how must we behave?

Ānando, you must exercise mental collectedness (*sati*).

Long Collection, Dialog 1. (C. T. 21.)

Translated by Rhys Davids: Dialogs, Vol. I, p. 4.

Renouncing unchastity, the philosopher Gotamo is chaste. He walks afar and abstains from the act of sex, the rustic law (*dhammo*.)

24. POVERTY.

Luke VI. 20.

He lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said: Blessed [are] ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.

The parallel in Matthew V. 3 has: **Blessed are the poor in spirit**,—thus altering the poverty from actuality to sentiment. But Luke, as usual, agrees with the Buddhist tradition. Renan long ago pointed out that Luke has more passages in praise of poverty than the other Evangelists. See, for example, Luke XII. 33: **Sell that ye have and give alms**—a passage peculiar to Luke. So also does Fausböll parallel the Lucan parable of the Rich Fool with the **Dhaniya Sutta** (S. B. E. X, part 2, p. 3); where the herdsman glories in his possessions, and the Lord in his spiritual attainments and earthly homelessness.

Matthew VIII. 20: Luke IX. 58.

The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven [have] nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

Hymns of the Faith, 200. (C. T. in Chinese).

Ah ! live we happily in sooth,—
We who have nothing :
Feeders on joy shall we be,
Even as the Angels of Splendor.



Hymns, 91. (C. T. in Chinese.)

The thoughtful struggle onward,
And delight not in abode :
Like swans who leave a lake,
Do they leave house and home.

Hymns, 421. (C. T.)

Whoso before, behind and in the midst
Hath naught his own,—
Possessing nothing, clinging unto naught,—
Him do I call a Brahmin.

Collection of Discourses, Stanza 37.

Just as a great bambū entangled is
With branches in each other, so the care
Of children and of wife ; but like the shoot
Of bambū clinging not, let one alone
Wander as wandereth an elephant.

Whole pages need to be copied from the
Piṭakas to set forth in its fullness the Buddhist

asceticism, while the glamor of the open-air freedom that shines over all is reflected in the New Testament by such expressions as: **Consider the lilies, &c.** The sections on Celibacy and Poverty have been added in 1904, after looking thru Seydel.



25. THE DISCOURSE ON DEFILEMENT.

Mark VII. 15.

Hear me all of you, and understand: there is nothing from without the man, that going into him can defile him: but the things which proceed out of the man are those that defile the man.

Collection of Discourses 241.

Destroying life, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, speaking lies, fraud and deceptions, worthless reading, intercourse with another's wife,—this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh.

We do not give the entire Sutta: it is found in S. B. E., Vol. X, part 2, pp. 40-41.

26. THE COMMANDMENTS.

Mark X. 19.

Thou knowest the commandments: Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honor thy father and mother.

This is an abridgement of the list in Exodus XX. Those commandments which deal with duties toward the Deity are omitted, and among them the observance of the Sabbath.

Short Recital: The Ten Precepts.

(S. P. in Long Collection, No. 21, corresponding to the Pali No. 1.)

- 1. I obey the commandment to abstain from taking life.**
- 2. To abstain from theft.**
- 3. Unchastity.**
- 4. Lying.**
- 5. Wine and strong drink, which are a cause of irreligion.**
- 6. Unseasonable meals.**
- 7. Dance, song, music and shows.**
- 8. Using garlands and perfumes for decoration and adornment.**

9. High or broad beds.

10. I obey the commandment to abstain from receiving gold, silver or money.

Nos. 6 to 10 were binding only upon monks.

The Short Recital is a manual for beginners, and contains this moral code, which recurs elsewhere in the Canon.

These are the genuine Ten Commandments of the Buddhists, and any alteration of them in popular works is modern adaptation merely. In the present translation the full form is given only in Nos. 1 and 10, so as to minimize tedious repetitions.

27. FAITH AND WORKS.

James II. 14; 24; 26.

What doth it profit, my brethren, if a man say he hath faith, but have not works? Can that faith save him?.....Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith..... For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, even so faith apart from works is dead.

Logia-Book 32, 33. (C. T. in Chinese).

This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by the Arahāt, and heard by me. A person possess of two qualities, O monks, is cast into hell just as he deserves. What are the two? Evil conduct and evil belief. A person possess of these two qualities, O monks, is cast into hell just as he deserves. This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus :

By evil conduct and by evil belief,
Of these two qualities a man possess,
After the body's breaking is a fool,
Who riseth again in hell.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by the Arahāt, and heard by me. A person possess of two qualities, O monks, is cast into paradise just as he deserves. What are the two? Good conduct and good belief. A person possess of these two qualities, O monks, is cast into paradise just as he deserves. This is the meaning of what the Lord said, and here it is rendered thus :

By good conduct and by good belief,
Of these two qualities a man possess,
After the body's breaking is a wise one,
And riseth again in paradise.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

28. THE POWER OF CONFESSION.

1 John I. 9.

If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

Romans X. 10.

With the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

Long Collection, Dialog No. 2. (C. T. 27.)

Translated by Burnouf, *op. Grimblot*, p. 243; also by

Rhys Davids: *Dialogs*, p. 94.

Truly, then, great King! a transgression has made thee transgress, as an ignorant, infatuated criminal, — thee who couldst deprive of life thy righteous father, that righteous King. But because, great King! thou hast seen [all] transgression from [this one] transgression, thou hast made expiation according to the Doctrine, and we accept this from thee; for this is an advance, O great King! in the Discipline of a Noble One: a Noble One who has seen all transgression from one transgression makes expiation according to the Doctrine: for the future he undergoes restraint.

In Jātaka 431, the Bodhisat and his mistress are saved by speaking the truth. Lying is worse than adultery.

29. CASTES LOST IN THE LORD.

Galatians III. 28.

There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye all are one [man] in Christ Jesus.

Mark III. 34, 35.

And looking round on them which sat round about him, he saith, Behold, my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.

John XV. 14, 15.

Ye are my friends if ye do the things which I command you. No longer do I call you slaves; for the slave knoweth not what his Lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you.

Enunciations V. 5;

Minor Section on Discipline, IX. 1.

(S. P. in Ekottara.) Translated in S. B. E. XX, p. 304.

Just, O monks, as the great rivers,—to wit: the Ganges, the Jamna, the Rāpti, the

Gogra, the Mahī,—when they fall into the great ocean, renounce their former name and kind and are counted as the mighty sea : just even so, monks, do these four castes,—to wit : the Nobles, the Brahmins, the Tradesfolk, and the Slaves,—when they have gone forth from domestic life into the homeless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline made public by the Tathāgato, renounce their former name and clan, to be numbered with the Sākya philosophers.

We have passages similar to this in various texts. Among them, Madhyama, Nos. 35 and 36, (1) agree nearly with the Pāli. There five rivers, (Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Çarabhū, Aciravatī or Airāvatī and Mahī) are enumerated. Cf. my book on Buddhism, pp. 98-99. (A. M.)

(1) These agree with the *Anguttara* VIII. 19. No. 35 is the parallel text to that and the passage is found in Vol. IV. p. 202. (A. M.)

30. CO-OPERATION OF WOMEN.

Luke X. 38, 39. Now, as they went on their way, he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at the Lord's feet and heard his word.

John XI. 5.

Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus.

Acts XVIII. 18.

And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days, took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila.

Romans XVI. 3.

Salute Prisca and Aquila, my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life laid down their necks.

Classified Collection XLIV. 1. (Wanting in Chinese).

Now, Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, going from Sāketo to Sāvatthi, came to the inn at Portaltown, between Sāketo and Sāvatthi. And the King said to a certain man: "Man, go to some wise philosopher or brahmin in Portaltown, to whom I may pay my respects to-day."

"Well, your Majesty," answered the man to Pasenadi the King of Kosalā: "while wandering about the whole neighborhood of Portaltown, I have not seen any philosopher or brahmin to whom the King may pay his respects."

Then the man saw Khemā the nun arrived at a dwelling in Portaltown, and thereupon he approacht the King and said: "Your majesty, there is not in Portaltown any philosopher or brahmin to whom your majesty may pay his respects; but there is, your majesty, a nun named Khemā, a disciple of the Lord, of the Holy One, the supreme Buddha; and about that lady there is gone abroad a good report: that she is wise, expert, intelligent, learned, eloquent, good at repartee. Let your majesty pay his respects unto her."

Thereupon the King introduces himself to Khemā and puts to her the well-known poser: **Does the Tathāgato exist after death?** Her answer is the same as Buddha's. (Middling Collection, No. 72, translated by Warren, p. 127.)

The Book of Hymns by Nuns is another proof of the intellectual activity of women in the early days of Buddhism. See the essay by Mabel Bode: *The Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation*. (Ninth Oriental Congress, 1892.)

**31. EATING WITH SINNERS.
THE MAGDALENE.**

Mark II. 16.

The scribes of the Pharisees, when they saw that he was eating with the sinners and publicans, said unto his disciples, He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners.

Luke VII. 37-39.

And behold, a woman which was in the city, a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting at meat in the Pharisee's house, she brought an alabaster cruse of ointment, and standing behind at his feet, weeping, she began to wet his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and kist his feet, and anointed them with the ointment. Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have perceived who and what manner of woman this is which toucheth him, that she is a sinner.

Luke VIII. 1, 2.

And it came to pass soon afterwards, that he went about thru cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve, and

certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out.

Matthew XXI. 31, 32.

Jesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterward, that ye might believe him.

The identification of the woman who was a sinner with Mary of Magdala is not certain, tho popularly accepted.

Major Section on Discipline, VI. 30.

Repeated in Long Collection, Dialog 16: Book of the Great Decease. (C. T. 2.)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 105, and XI, p. 30.

Now Ambapāli the harlot heard that the Lord had come to Vesāli, and was staying in her own mango-grove. Then Ambapāli the harlot made ready her best carriages, mounted her best carriage, and departed from Vesāli with her train. Then she went to her own mango-grove, and having gone as far as the

ground was passable for carriages, she alighted from her carriage and proceeded on foot to where the Lord was; and approaching him, she saluted him and sat on one side. And while she was sitting, the Lord instructed, incited, excited and delighted Ambapāli the harlot with religious discourse.

And being thus instructed, incited, excited, delighted, she address the Lord thus: "Let the Lord and his Order of monks consent to take dinner with me tomorrow."

The Lord consented by silence. And Ambapāli the harlot, having observed his consent, rose from her seat, saluted the Lord, and keeping him on her right hand, departed.

The noble youths of the city are indignant at the invitation, and offer the courtesan one hundred thousand pieces to give up her intended entertainment of the Buddha, so that they may invite him. But she refuses; and next day, after the meal, presents her mango-grove to the Master and his Order.

This passage is not found in the two Chinese Vinaya texts: N. C. Nos. 1117 & 1122. (A. M.)

32. THE MASTER REPROACHT FOR GENEROUS FARE.

Matthew XI. 19.

The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! And wisdom is justified by her works.

Middling Collection, Dialog 26. (C. T. 204.)

The narrative is given by Buddha himself in the first person. Translated by Warren, p. 343. Repeated in Mahāvaggo, I. 6 (in the third person), and translated in S. B. E., Vol. XIII, p. 92.

Now the company of the five monks saw me [Mahāvaggo has the Lord] coming from afar; and when they saw me they took counsel together, saying: "Brethren, here comes the philosopher Gotamo, who lives in abundance; who has given up ascetic exertion, and has turned to an abundant life. Let us not salute him, nor rise from our seats when he approaches, nor take his bowl and robe from his hands. But let us put a seat here; and if he likes he may sit down."

The sacred narrative proceeds to tell how the august presence of the newly enlightened sage awed the company into breaking their resolution and showing him due reverence.

END OF VOL. I.

ADDENDA.

P. 21. While the present edition supersedes the Tōkyō edition of 1905, the latter is still useful for readers of Chinese, as it contains Chinese various readings of Buddhist texts. Copies may still be obtained in Tōkyō and London (Kegan Paul). A specimen page will be found at the end.

P. 25. If children were taught the primary sounds of the Roman alphabet, much confusion would be avoided. Children should know that the nations of Europe (except the Greeks and the Russians) have borrowed their alphabet from the Romans; that each people has modified it to its own linguistic needs; but that all, except the English, have retained the original values of the vowels.* And even in English these original sounds are preserved in such words as *fAther*, *thEre*, *machIne*, *bOre*, and *trUth*.

Children should also be taught the affinities of the sounds: P, B, T, D, &c. While we have inherited the disorderly A, B, C of Phenician traders, the Hindūs have inherited an alphabet arranged according to the organs of speech by scholars who were thinking out such problems when our British

*The French, however, have changed the sound of U by introducing the tongue, but they have not made it a diphthong as we have.

ancestors were dyeing their skins violet and our English ones were German and Danish pirates. Münsterberg's objection to the past tense in T would then fall to the ground. He complains that foreign students are helpt by the ED for the past tense, which serves as a guide-post. But a child who knew that KD was an impossible combination, and must inevitably become KT, would have no difficulty in recognizing this kindred form of the past tense, as he must do even now in *kept* and *slept* and *dreamt*.

P. 54, General Rule. The consonants in Sanskrit and Pāli are pronounced as in English, except the c, whose value is that of modern Italian.

P. 95, note 7. Insert: John VI. 42.

P. 125. Robert Waln, Junior, of Philadelphia (1794-1825) came to the same conclusion presented here about the Seres: viz., that they were the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan. See his essay: *China.....With remarks on embassies and trade.* (Philadelphia, 1823.)

The Historical Introduction was mostly written between 1898 and 1900 before M'Crindle's works were accessible to Americans. Thru the kindness of Wilfred H. Schoff, the author has now seen that scholar's *Ancient India, as described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901.) The journey to India, in the first century B. C., of Eudoxus of Cyzicus ought to have been noticed on p. 119, while

ADDENDA

the description of the Samanos preserved by Porphyry from Bardesanes should have found a place on p. 127.

In the next edition, I hope to discuss a Parallel from the Numerical Collection to the Parable of the Sower, which has been pointed out to me by Anesaki.

Italics occurring in Sacred Texts must, in future editions, be made uniform thruout.

On pp. 12, 42, 51, 62, 79, 81, 87 and 134 there are lapses into the conventional spelling; while on pp. 63 and 127, in the notes, are the only actual misprints yet found: the proper names of Charton and Lardner. These are corrected in the Index.

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S. B. E., Vol. XLV, Introd., p. xli 231

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Translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva, A. D. 397-398.

(A translation made in the previous decade was already lost in A. D. 730. In the Chinese Catalog of Scriptures the Middling Collection stands first among the Āgamas, followed by the Numerical. Then come the Classified and the Long.)

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Mahāsaṅghikas and the Dharmaguptas

Nidāna 82

(This book appears to have been similar to the Avadānas, but confined to the more exalted disciples. One of the Tibetan translators of the Udānavarga calls the illustrative stories *Nidāna*. Cf. the Dhammapada Commentary.)

(c.) Books in the Fifth Collection of the Elders
and the Dharmaguptas.

(As they separated in pre-Christian times, the books they had in common must be ancient.)

1. Hymns of the Faith (Pāli *Dhammapada*.)

Mentioned	55 ; 70, note 21 ; 83
Meters of	78
Stanzas 3-5	215
Stanza 91	241
Stanzas 129, 130	213
“ 184, 185	217
Stanza 194	201
“ 200	241
“ 201	218
“ 220	222, note
“ 223	215
“ 394	223
“ 399	217
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The Chinese Dharmapada

Oldest translation, A. D. 224. (Nanjio's Catalog, No. 1365.)

Mentioned 50, 214, 222

(It is also frequently quoted by Anesaki alongside of the Pāli, tho not by stanza.)

A Tibetan Dharmapada (called *Udānavarga*)

Quoted 222, note

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2. The Birth Stories (*Pāli Jātakāni*)

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Migration of	154
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No. 3	125, note 22
No. 151	215
No. 431	246
No. 461	80

3. Lives of the Saints

(*Pāli Apadāna*; Sanskrit *Avadāna*)

Avadānas	80, 82
Divyāvadāna	62, 68, 172, note 5

4. Parāyana

(The last book of the Sutta-Nipāto, Stanzas 976-1148.)

Mentioned	79
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(d.) Books only Known to us, in their integrity, thru the Pāli Canon

1. The Short Recital (*Khuddaka Pātho*)

Mentioned or quoted	138, 214, 222, 243
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2. The Collection of Discourses (*Sutta Nipāto*)

(The last book of this Collection appears above. Both it and the last but one were once separate works.)

Mentioned	14, 55, 73
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I. 8 (Metta Sutta)	214, note 4
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III. 8 (Salla Sutta=Jātaka 461)	80
III. 9 (Vaseṭṭha Sutta=Majjhima 98)	80
III. 10 (Kokāliya Sutta=Samyutta VI. 1. 10)	80
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Passages in the Sutta Nipāto found in Chinese

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3. Hymns by Nuns (*Therīgāthā*)

Mentioned	250
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4. The Niddeso

(an ancient commentary on part of the Sutta Nipāto.)

Mentioned	73, 83
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5. The Way to Supernal Knowledge

(*Patisambhidhā Maggo*)

Mentioned	81, 83
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Note.—There are other books in the Fifth Nikāyo not quoted here. In making this Index, the conventional Pāli order of the books of this Nikāyo has been purposely departed from, so as to remind the student that the arrangement of the Pāli is not the only one, and to stimulate research into the date of these works.

III. EPITOME OF DOCTRINE

(Pāli, *Abhidhammo*; Sanskrit, *Abhidharma*)

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*This exists separately in Chinese (Nanjio 674). (A. M.)

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Note.—The Chinese recensions of the Abhidharma which, like those of the Vinaya, belong to different sects, are very important for fixing the date of the Canon. See Takakusu's article in *The Journal of the Pali Text Society* (London, 1905.)

IV. SEMI-CANONICAL ANTHOLOGIES

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Note.—In my *Buddhist Bibliography* (Journal of the Pali Text Society, London, 1903, p. 53), I wrongly classified this anthology as Mahāyāna.

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*Plutarch (who was born within twenty years after the Crucifixion) is a witness to the fact of the accessibility of India in New Testament times. Thus, he tells us (*Vit. Pomp.* 70) that the fame of Pompey and Cæsar had reached that land; that the armies of Mark Antony struck terror into the Hindūs beyond Bactra (*Vit. Ant.* 37); that Cleopatra wisht her son by Julius Cæsar to flee to India after the battle of Actium (*Ibid.* 81); that the Hindū mentioned on p. 119 of Vol. I burnt himself in the presence of Augustus, and that his tomb was still famous in Plutarch's own day (*Vit. Alex.* 69). It was doubtless seen by Paul when he was viewing Athens (Acts XVII. 23). Plutarch, in his lost Lives of the early Roman Emperors, may have mentioned the Christian religion.

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*This scholar wrote a long essay on the relations of the Roman Empire with Eastern Asia (*Journal Asiatique*, 1863) which, in spite of some mistakes, is worthy of translation and annotation. The allusions to India in the Roman poets are very fully analyzed.

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Note.—In giving dates, my rule has been to give the century of remote characters and the life-dates of nearer ones. Extremes meet, and the only ones undated are living persons and mythical ones. King Arsun should have been dated B. C. Sæc. IV., but Liscus (for Lncus), Paou-yun, Tao-shih and Tao-süen I am unable to fix in such a month as July, when almost the entire scholastic class is away, and for Asiatics our biographical dictionaries are useless. Two eminent scholars, Vincent Fausböll and Jean Réville, have died while the Index was being made. In some cases one cannot be certain whether a writer be living or not.

In sorting the index cards, the author was materially helpt by his young friends Charles and Vera Buckaloo.

**Buddhist and Christian
Gospels :**

Opinions of Scholars

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

Founder of the Pali Text Society of London, 1881; editor of many Buddhist texts from the palm-leaf manuscripts of Ceylon; author of *Manual of Buddhism* (many editions, as well as Dutch and German translations); translator of *Dialogues of the Buddha* and *Buddhist Suttas* (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI); author of *Buddhist India* (Story of the Nations Series: London, 1903), etc., etc., late Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

"It may be thought, perhaps, that though the examples adduced by Seydel were insufficient [to prove Christian borrowing], yet that the new factors since discovered, through the publication, by the Pali Text Society, of the Nikāyas, may still make that conclusion possible. We shall soon see. An American scholar, Mr. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, is on the point of publishing a complete set of comparisons between the Nikāyas and the Gospels, adducing later materials only by way of [illustration]* and carefully distinguishing them from the earlier documents."—*International Quarterly*, Burlington, Vermont, March-June, 1903, pp. 7 and 8.

THE LATE EDMOND HARDY (1852-1904.)

Catholic priest and Benedictine monk; professor of philosophy at Freiburg in Baden, and of Indic philology at the Swiss Freiburg; editor of the last seven nipāṭas of the *Anguttara Nikāya* for the London Pali Text Society. Not to be confounded with the English Singhalese scholar, Robert Spence Hardy, who died in 1874. In May, 1904, a few months before his death, E. Hardy wrote to me:

"No one can deny that these parallels are striking, more or less; and you do a good work to call attention to them." [This was referring to Ed. 2.]

**Comparison* is the word used, but this is probably a slip. This notice was based upon the first edition (1902), wherein the list of *Uncanonical Parallels* made it clear to Rhys Davids that the author would avoid Seydel's mistake of using pre-Christian and post-Christian Buddhist books indiscriminately.

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

ERNST KUHN.

Professor of Indic Philology in the University of Munich; author of a Pali Grammar (1875) and of the leading work on the medieval Buddhist-Christian romance of Barlaam and Joasaph (Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences, 1893).

“Was an derartigem in den letzten zwanzig Jahren erschienen ist, würde sich aus dem ‘Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie’ und der ‘Orientalischen Bibliographie’ bei einiger Umsicht unschwer zusammenstellen lassen.

“Beachtet zu werden verdienen darunter namentlich die Beobachtungen, welche Albert J. Edmunds zuerst im ‘Open Court,’ dann mit dem Titel ‘*Buddhist and Christian Gospels now first compared from the Originals: being “Gospel Parallels from Pāli Texts,” reprinted with Additions*’ separat als eine Art Prospekt eines grösseren Werks zu Philadelphia, 1902 (2 ed., 1904), veröffentlicht hat.” [From Kuhn’s *Nachwort to Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen*. Von G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga. Göttingen, 1904, p. 103. This book belongs to the series of *Researches into the Religion and Literature of the Old and New Testaments*, edited by Wilhelm Bousset and Hermann Gunkel.]

J. TAKAKUSU.

Professor of Sanskrit in the Imperial University of Japan; sometime student under Max Müller at Oxford, and co-translator with him of *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX.

“It is certainly the best text-book for the advancement of religious knowledge. There will be a time, we may hope, when every missionary training college will use this as a standard work for the study of the relative positions of the two great missionary religions. It is, at any rate, indispensable for those who go to Japan as missionaries, where the two religions are brought face to face in their activity. It is significant that this lifework of Mr. Edmunds should be published in Japan, for, as he says: ‘Dramatic in the highest is the course of the two great world-faiths: Buddhism has rolled from the Ganges to the Pa-

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

cific, and Christianity from the Jordan, in the reverse direction again to the Pacific, until in Japan and the United States, after their age-long and planetary march, they stand looking at each other across that ocean—once a Spanish, but now an American lake.'” [Historical Introduction, p. 160.] . . .

“Japan will be grateful to our author for the boon of this excellent work, which will, I hope, eventually help to bring about a solution of the religious problem of Japan.”

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: London, January, 1906, pp. 245 and 246.

[On page 244, Professor Takakusu also says: “His careful summary of historical relations between the East and the West, and minute analysis of the original texts, tend to prove successfully the possibility of connection between Christianity and Buddhism.”]

M. ANESAKI.

Professor of Religious Science in the Imperial University of Japan; editor of the present work; author of a Japanese book on Buddhism, in which the vast fields of Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist literature are drawn upon abundantly.

“Die mehrjährige Arbeit Edmunds’ kann mit Recht als der erste Versuch der obenerwähnten Forschung bezeichnet werden. Wie Professor Rhys Davids über das Werk bemerkte,” etc. [Then follows a German translation of the statement, by Rhys Davids quoted above.]

From an article on the book by Anesaki in the *Deutsche Japan-Post*: Yokohama, September 30, 1905, p. 8 (4 Jahrgang, No. 26).

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Ghent; one of the editors of *Le Muséon*, an Oriental magazine published by the universities of Ghent and Louvain; author of several esteemed works on Buddhism.

“J’ai dit du livre de M. Edmunds tout le mal que j’en pensais; mais je n’en ai pas fait suffisamment ressortir les mérites.

A supposer que tout le monde juge avec aussi peu de bienveillance que je le fais les résultats auxquels elle aboutit en ce qui regarde nos Évangiles, la présente publication n'en est pas moins fort importante pour l'histoire comparée des religions d'une part, l'histoire du Bouddhisme de l'autre. (1) Avec une grande conscience, M. Edmunds a étudié la littérature canonique de langue pâlie."

[The critique of Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin appeared in the *Revue Biblique* of Paris for July, 1906, where it occupies 29 pages. My learned critic is chiefly concerned in proving that my verbal Parallels are robbed of their cogency by the difference of the ideas involved in their respective contexts. He is a philosopher and no mere philologist, and has given me much food for thought. Let me here correct one or two errors. When M. Poussin says, of the Ascension, "d'après notre auteur, il ne se rencontre aucun original bouddhique," I do not know what he means. In a note (p. 26) he adduces the ascension of Arahats as a noteworthy parallel overlooked by me, but in my book, p. 192, I have translated the account of Dabbo the Malian's ascension. M. Poussin is also in error when he says, "M. Edmunds tient pour hérétique" "le Bouddhisme dit 'du Nord.'" My notes on pp. 194 and 223 should have corrected this, as also my recognition of the fact that several sects refused to canonize the Statement of Theses (p. 159). It is true, however, that my Historical Introduction was written in the Nineties, when my only guide to the Chinese versions was Samuel Beal. There is no copy of Nanjio's Catalog in Philadelphia, and it was not until 1900 that I found one in the National Library at Washington. But M. Poussin should re-read my San Francisco supplement to *Buddhist Bibliography* to see how well I am awake to the importance of other sects than the Elders with their Pâli.

Again, my critic is a Catholic, and cannot understand the position of a Quaker or a Swedenborgian—the former with his

(1) Voir le compte rendu de M. J. Takakusu, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 243-6.

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

Universal and Saving Light; the latter with his Divine influx into all mankind and his "lost Word" to be found in Central Asia. A man who has been saturated with these ideas has far deeper questions to answer than "Que vaut la Bible?" (P. 9.)

In spite of his fair and well-stated strictures, M. Poussin is friendly, and such remarks as the following would make any author's blood circulate: "Si je m'attache au livre de M. A. J. Edmunds, ce n'est pas qu'il soit particulièrement démonstratif; mais d'une part, les arguments qu'il présente n'ont pas encore été discutés, et, de l'autre, il y a plaisir et profit à cheminer avec lui." (P. 8.)]

The references to the present work are all to Vol. 2 here, so the pages of Ed. 3 are retained.

JEAN RÉVILLE AND J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

Reviews by these scholars are frequently noticed in the present edition. The lamented Jean Réville appears to assume that my aim is to derive Christian doctrines from Buddhism, and begins by stating categorically how distasteful it is to us to be indebted to the Hindūs. Estlin Carpenter's remarks are friendly, but we do not always agree on points of translation.

LEARNED JOURNALS.

For Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, see Takakusu.

LITERARISCHES ZENTRALBLATT FÜR DEUTSCHLAND.

Leipzig, February 10, 1906, pp. 234, 235 (57 Jahrgang, No. 7.) Article signed H. Pl.

"Vergleichende Arbeiten über die buddhistischen und christlichen Evangelien besitzen wir schon von Hilgenfeld, Seydel, Hardy, u. a., die aber sämtlich den Fehler haben, sich nur auf Uebersetzungen aus dem Pāli zu stützen. Das vorliegende Werk geht auf den ursprünglichen Palitext zurück. . . . [Here follows

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

a synopsis of the book]. Das Werk kann allen, die sich mit vergleichenden Religionsstudien beschäftigen aus wärmste empfohlen werden."

LUZAC'S ORIENTAL LIST.

London, May-June, 1903.

"Many of the ethical parallels adduced by him are interesting and justifiable, but when we come to theology and eschatology, as in Nos. 37, 38, 42, 45 and 58, the parallelism is not exact, and never can be."

[This critique was made upon the first edition, a mere 16-page abstract, wherefrom the reviewer could gain no idea of the author's position. The parallels quoted are numbered 52, 54, 58, 66 and 83 in the present edition. Their rubrics are:

- 52. The Savior is Unique.
 - 54. The Light of the World.
 - 58. The Master knows God and his Kingdom.
 - 66. Saving Faith in the Lord.
 - 83. The Great Restoration.]
-

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Edinburgh, November, 1905, p. 88. (Vol. xvii, No. 2.) Edited by James Hastings. It is the organ of the Scottish Church.

"This bookful of parallels is not gathered in vain. It speaks of a deeper matter than imitation. It throws a new light on the whole study of religion, on the whole problem of the religious life. It is not that St. Luke copied Buddha. It is that, telling the story of the Birth in Bethlehem, he brought himself into touch with the religious desires of man all over the world, and furnished what they desired. They had been seeking this Incarnation, this Babe in a manger, feeling after it, but never securely finding it. The study of Comparative Religion will be

the study of the future, and the future is not far away. We need not be driven into it by fear; let us enter it with that reverent joy with which the Shepherds entered the Cave at Bethlehem. . . . [Then follows an account of the book]. It is a volume of great learning, and the value of it is not to be gathered from a single quotation."

THEOLOGISCHES LITERATURBLATT.

Leipzig, March 16, 1906, pp. 127-129. (Jahrgang xxvii, No. 11). The organ of Lutheran scholarship, representing the universities of Kiel, Greifswald, Rostock, Leipzig and Göttingen. Present review by Otto Zöckler, professor of Church History at Greifswald, author of commentaries, etc. The aged critic died before his article appeared.

"Dem vor einigen Jahren getanen Ausspruch des Indologen R. Pischel: 'Wie jetzt Babel ungestüm an die Pforten des Alten Testaments pocht, so klopft, vorläufig noch leise, an die Tür des Neuen Testaments Buddha' scheint aus dem Inhalt der hier vorliegenden Schrift einige Bestätigung zu erwachsen. Ja es dürften sich manche Leser finden, welche auf Grund dieser Edmunds-Anesakischen 'Collation buddhistischer und christlicher Evangelien' das Anklopfen Buddhas schon als ein so starkes zu vernehmen meinen, dass sie die Tür des Neuen Testaments weit für ihn aufzutun sich bereit zeigen. Den Unterzeichneten hat die Lektüre des Buches nicht in eine so sanguinische Stimmung versetzt.

[The learned professor, in the course of the review, exposes my ignorance of recent German books and articles, to which I plead guilty, and cordially thank him. The neglected writers have since been sought out, but not a single one is an Indianist. However, from one of them, Pfeiderer, I have gotten some useful hints.]

"Die deutsche religionshistorische Forschung wird von dem Edmundsschen Buche zwar Notiz nehmen müssen; aber es lässt sich bezweifeln, ob dasselbe im dermaligen Stande der Annahmen der das Problem 'Buddhismus und Urchristentum' behandelnden kompetenten Forscher eine sonderliche Aenderung herbeiführen wird."

THE OUTLOOK.

New York, October 7, 1905, pp. 331, 332.

"As a contribution to the study of comparative religion from a Japanese scholar, this volume has a peculiar interest as well as a positive value for the student. That prince among Oriental scholars, the late Max Müller, regarded it as an open question whether a few of the parallel stories in the Buddhist Canon and the Gospels had or had not been 'carried from India to Alexandria and Palestine.' Professor Anesaki holds to the independence of the fundamental documents of the Buddhist and the Christian Scriptures. He only raises the question whether the Gospel of Luke, 'in certain traits extraneous to the Synoptical narrative,' is indebted to a Buddhist source."

[This is a quotation from my main preface, p. 42; but the hasty reviewer overlooks my signature and ascribed the words to Anesaki, who signs his own preface a few leaves further on.]

THE OPEN COURT.

Chicago: September, 1905, p. 538. (Article by Paul Carus entitled *Buddhist and Christian Gospels: work done in comparative religion by Albert J. Edmunds.*)

"We wish to state here that we deem the results of Mr. Edmunds's investigation important in a high degree, and think that he is especially fitted for his task; because, on the one hand, he is a Christian and an accomplished New Testament scholar, and, on the other hand, he sympathizes strongly with Buddhist doctrines. There is perhaps no one in the world so well acquainted with the sources of both religions as he."

[This last statement is only true of Professor J. Estlin Carpenter of Oxford, who is a New Testament scholar and a Pali scholar.]

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

LIGHT OF DHARMA.

San Francisco, January, 1906, p. 133. The organ of the Japanese Buddhist mission to the United States.

"This work is the pioneer of this kind of labor. Of course, we have a large number of books of parallelism, expressing ideas of the two greatest religions of the world, but we need corresponding parallels drawn from their texts. From this point of view this work has no rival."

THE SECULAR PRESS.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

Literary editor of the New York *Sun*.

"A remarkable book comes to us from the Yūhōkwan Publishing house at Tōkyō." [Then follow nearly five columns of review, chiefly quotations from the Historical Introduction. The article appeared in the *Sun* (literary supplement), October 15, 1905.]

NOTE.—The book has not been criticized by any first-class Indianist or New Testament scholar in my own country. The difficulty here is that American Orientalists are seldom acquainted with such a rising study as Buddhism and its sacred language the Pāli. While there are chairs for Brahmin literature, there is not one for Buddhist in this hemisphere. What should we think of a university where French literature was merely a side issue with the professor of Latin and Italian?

By ALBERT J. EDMUNDS, M.A.,

(University of Pennsylvania),

Member of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia.

HYMNS OF THE FAITH (*Dhammapada*): being an ancient anthology preserved in the Short Collection of the Sacred Scriptures of the Buddhists. Translated from the Pali, by Albert J. Edmunds. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, 1902, 12°, pp. xiii + 109.

Extract from a Review by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, in *Le Muséon*: Louvain, 1906.

“Sans insister sur les nombreux passages où M. Edmunds, à la fois fort ingénieux et fort bien informé de la philologie pâlie, s'écarte de la 'vulgate' de Max Müller, la caractéristique de son travail est la forme rythmée dans laquelle, avec beaucoup de succès, il s'est efforcé de rendre l'allure chantante, tantôt plus légère, tantôt plus grave, de l'original. Il a eu raison de ne pas se faire un devoir d'être tout à fait conséquent sur ce point, et de ne pas écrire toujours en vers réguliers; car, autant il est souhaitable que la traduction se moule sur la stance hindoue, autant il est coupable de sacrifier le sens à un scrupule de forme. Très rares sont les cas où le laconisme de la phrase laisse quelque peu d'obscurité: nombreux ceux où on admire le choix heureux des mots et la souplesse de la syntaxe. Partout on sent que cette traduction a été écrite *con amore*, avec un égal souci de séduire le lecteur contemporain et de respecter la pensée indienne.”

A BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY, based upon the Libraries of Philadelphia. London: *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1903, 8°, pp. 1-60. Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ABOVE. With identification of Asoko's First Selection, &c. Philadelphia, 1904, 8°, pp. 8. (Reprinted from the *Light of Dharma*: San Francisco.)

A BUDDHIST GENESIS. Chicago: *The Monist*, January, 1904, pp. 207-214; April, 1904, p. 472.

THE SHORTNESS OF THE PRIMITIVE BUDDHIST CANON, as shown by the researches of Anesaki and Suzuki. San Francisco: *Light of Dharma*, January, 1905, pp. 237-241.

AN ANCIENT MOSLEM ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIANITY. [With a note on the Mark Appendix]. Chicago: *The Monist*, January, 1905, pp. 120-123.

THE CHINESE ITIVUTTAKAM, and its proof of Pāli Additions. San Francisco: *Light of Dharma*, October, 1905, pp. 85-86.

CAN THE PĀLI PĪṬAKAS AID US IN FIXING THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS? Philadelphia, 1905, 8°, pp. 8. [Ernst Kuhn said of this: "Diese Parallele scheint mir sehr beachtenwert zu sein."]

BUDDHIST TEXTS QUOTED AS SCRIPTURE BY THE GOSPEL OF JOHN: a discovery in the lower criticism (John VII. 38; XII. 34). Philadelphia, 1906, 8°, pp. 41. (London: Luzac & Co.)

This essay has been sympathetically reviewed by James Hastings, editor of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, in his magazine, *The Expository Times*, (Edinburgh, December, 1906.) It has also been ably travestied and satirized by P. Wurm, in Harnack and Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, (Leipzig, February 2, 1907.) Jean Réville, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris, Sept.-Oct., 1906) is more serious and scholarly, tho he cannot believe that the greatest religion of pre-Christian Asia can have influenced even so eclectic a writer as the Fourth Evangelist. This is because the Mediterranean Sea is still the center of our culture, which has not yet crost the Euphrates.

The author has privately received encouraging notices from Rhys Davids and Otto Pfeleiderer. The latter considers the main argument conclusive. Both of these eminent scholars have broken the shackles of the Mediterranean culture. Frederick W. Frankland, of New Zealand, in a note to his reprint of my poem, *The Sacred Books of the East*, says: "A. J. Edmunds, the author of this poem, has demonstrated, by means of the Pāli texts, the partial dependence of our Fourth Gospel on Buddhism."

FAIRMOUNT PARK AND OTHER POEMS. With historical notes. Philadelphia, 1906, 4°, pp. 52. [The poem entitled *The Sacred Books of the East* has twice been reprinted and annotated by Frederick W. Frankland, of New Zealand. The late Albert H. Smyth, editor of *Franklin*, said: "I have enjoyed the poems for their own still sympathy and beauty. They have a love of the deep remedial and redemptive forces of nature that is seldom found in our contemporary verse."]

QUAKER LITERATURE IN THE LIBRARIES OF PHILADELPHIA. Westtown, Pennsylvania: *The Westonian*, Eleventh Month, 1907, pp. 181-203. With Addenda, pp. 2, 4°.

For other articles, see *Fairmount Park*, pp. 50-51.

By MASAHARU ANESAKI, Ph. D.,

Professor of Religious Science in the Imperial University of Tōkyō;
Kahn scholar, 1907-8.

LIFE AND DOCTRINE OF BUDDHA. [In Japanese]. Tōkyō, 1904, pp. 267, 8°. (Uniform with the third edition of Buddhist and Christian Gospels.)

HOW CHRISTIANITY APPEALS TO A JAPANESE BUDDHIST. London: *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1905, pp. 1-18.

Le Sagātha-vagga du Saṃyutta-Nikāya et ses versions chinoises. Traduit de l'anglais par Albert J. Edmunds. Louvain: *Le Muséon*, 1905, pp. 15.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF JAPAN: an outline. With appendices on the textual history of the Buddhist Scriptures. Tōkyō, 1907, 12°, pp. 76. (Reprinted from the *Encyclopedia Americana*.)

Professor Anesaki has also contributed to the forthcoming Dictionary of Religions, edited by Dr. Hastings of Edinburgh. As he is now traveling in Europe, the author cannot secure his co-operation in making a fuller list.

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Buddhist and Christian Gospels

NOW FIRST COMPARED FROM THE
ORIGINALS: BEING "GOSPEL
PARALLELS FROM PĀLI TEXTS,"
REPRINTED WITH ADDITIONS

BY

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS, M. A.

*Fourth Edition: being the Tōkyō edition
revised and enlarged*

EDITED WITH ENGLISH NOTES ON
CHINESE VERSIONS DATING FROM
THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

BY

MASAHARU ANESAKI

Professor of Religious Science in the Imperial University of Tōkyō

IN TWO VOLUMES
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“IN THOSE AGES IT WOULD HAVE BEEN USELESS TO ATTEMPT A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR SUCH TEACHING. WHAT COULD BEST BE DONE WAS TO ENFORCE SOME FEW GREAT TRUTHS—AS THE SOUL’S LONG UPWARD PROGRESS, OR THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD—IN SUCH REVELATIONS AS EAST AND WEST COULD UNDERSTAND. GRADUALLY SCIENCE AROSE, UNITING THE BELIEFS OF ALL PEOPLES IN ONE SCHEME OF ORGANIZED TRUTH, AND SUGGESTING—AS HAS BEEN SAID—THAT RELIGION MUST BE THE SPIRIT’S SUBJECTIVE REACTION TO ALL THE TRUTHS WE KNOW.”

MYERS : *Human
Personality and its Survival
of bodily Death*, Chapter IX.

PREFACE TO VOL. 2

To the account given by Anesaki of his first knowledge of me (Vol. 1, p. 47) I should like to add a few facts. It was while making my *Buddhist Bibliography, based upon the libraries of Philadelphia* (London, 1903) that I first discovered some valuable articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society by a certain Dr. Anesaki. They were about the relationship between the Chinese - Sanskrit Āgamas and the Pāli Nikāyos. I had written something myself about this, in the San Francisco *Light of Dharma*, and had urged the Japanese to make this very investigation, little knowing that Anesaki had already begun it. His articles were duly registered in my Bibliography, but I did not read them until after this was printed. Then I realized that I had done him an injustice by calling pointed attention to my own poor attempts and merely giving the titles of his profoundly learned researches. From my friend Teitaro Suzuki, then of LaSalle, Illinois, I obtained Anesaki's full name and address, and wrote to him apologizing for my conduct and explaining that when cataloging his articles I had not realized their depth. This began a correspondence between us, and when I emptied my treasury to print the truncated second edition of the present work, in 1904, I very naturally sent him a copy. He immediately offered to publish and edit the whole, if I could not find an American publisher, and our joint edition was the result.

Philadelphia :

A. J. E.

February, 1909.

CHRONOLOGY

I. HĪNAYĀNA, or Historical Buddhism.

(Non-idolatrous.)

The Scriptures of primitive Buddhism (together with those of other religions)
are printed in this book in heavy type.

B. C.

Circa 557-477. Life of Gotamo the Buddha.

- " 477. First Council of the Order: official recitation of the oldest Doctrine and Discipline. Parallel formation of a non-official independent Canon.
- " 250. Age of Asoko, the Hindu Charlemagne and Buddhist Constantine. Religious Toleration proclaimed. Rock-written Edicts, still extant, contain a selection of titles of favorite Buddhist texts. Beginning of stone temples, but without images of Buddha.
- " 150. Agnimitra, patron of Buddhism. Development of sectarian interpretations (*Abhidharma*.)
- " 40. The Canon committed to writing in Ceylon.
(Probable prior committal in India.)

II. MAHĀYĀNA or Mythical Buddhism.

(Idolatrous.)

Passages from the Canon of this neo-Buddhism will be found in the Appendix.

A. D.

Rise of Christianity.

- Circa* 25. Strabo sees 120 ships in trade to India.
- 64. Paul before Nero; Buddhism officially entering China. Fire at Rome makes a gap in early Christian literature.
- 70. Destruction of Jerusalem widens the gap.
- 98-117. Reign of Trajan. Date (according to Eusebius) of the official redaction of the Gospels.
- Circa* 125? Hīnayāna Buddhist Canon officially explained by order of King Kanishka. Papias mentions the Gospels of Mark and Matthew.
- 149. Justin Martyr bears witness to the existence of Gospels (Canonical and apocryphal), and An-Shi-Kau renounces the throne of Parthia and goes to China to translate Buddhist texts into Chinese.
- 399-415. Fā Hian (or Hien), the first great Chinese pilgrim, travels thru Buddhist countries, studies in India and Ceylon, and carries texts back to China. During the fifth century the Ceylon commentaries fix the text of the Canon of the Elders in Pāli, and those of Jerome the text of the Christian Vulgate.

SÆC. VI. The Buddhist-Christian romance of Barlaam and Joasaph circulates in Hither Asia.

- " VII. The Korān mixes the legends of Christ and Buddha.
Chinese pilgrims Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing.
- " VIII. The Emperor of China forbids Christianity and Buddhism to be mixt.
- " VIII-XVI. Mohammedan invasions of India; destruction of the Buddhist Scriptures. Recensions of certain sects preserved in Ceylon, China and Tibet.
- 972. First printed edition of Buddhist Scriptures (Chinese versions).
- " XIII. Buddha, under the title of *St. Josaphat*, appears in the *Golden Legend* as a saint of the Roman Church.
- 1455. First printed edition of Christian Scriptures (Latin Vulgate).

**33. CONVERSION OF A LEPER;
DISCIPLES ASK WHY HE BECAME SO.**

Matthew XI. 5.

The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preacht to them.

John IX. 1-3.

And as he past by, he saw a man blind from his birth. And his disciples askt him, saying, Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind? Jesus answered, Neither did this man sin, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.

As in the case of the first Nativity legend, the following passage is not set forth as an exact parallel, but rather as breathing the spirit of Gospel scenes: preaching in the open air and consoling the poor and despised.

Enunciations(1) V. 3.

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one time the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū-grove, beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground. Now at that time there was a leper at Rājagaha named Suppabuddho, who was a poor, wretched and woe-begone man. At that time the Lord, surrounded by a great company, sat and preacht the Doctrine. And Suppabuddho the leper saw from afar the great crowd assembled, and when he saw it he thought: "Doubtless there is something being distributed here to be eaten. What if I approach the crowd? Perhaps I shall get at least something of what is to be eaten here." And Suppabuddho the leper forthwith approacht the crowd. But he saw that the Lord, surrounded by a great company, sat and preacht the Doctrine, and when he saw it he thought: "Nothing is being distributed here to be eaten. This Gotamo the philosopher is preaching his doctrine to the company. What if I listen to the Doctrine?" So thinking, he sat on one side and said: "I too will hear the Doctrine."

Then the Lord, surveying with his mind the entire company, reflected: "There is some one now here who is capable of discerning the Doctrine." And forthwith the Lord saw Sup-

(1) For this rendering and its reason, see my remarks in the New Church Messenger: May 1, 1901.

pabuddho the leper sitting with the company, and when he saw him, he thought : "This man here is capable of discerning the Doctrine."

He delivered a categorical discourse applicable to Suppabuddho the leper: viz., a discourse on giving, on conduct, and on Paradise, and he made clear the evil consequence of lusts and the advantage of departing from depravity and sin. When the Lord discerned that the mind of Suppabuddho the leper was softened, unbiased, exalted, and purified, then he made clear that which is the⁽²⁾ supreme sermon of the Buddhas: viz., Pain, [its] Origin, [its] Cessation, and the Path. Even as a pure and utterly speckless robe receives the dye, so in Suppabuddho the leper, in the very place where he sat, there arose the stainless and spotless eye of the Doctrine: Whatever has an origin must needs have a cessation. And forthwith Suppabuddho the leper, having seen the Doctrine, having reached it, understood it, and dived into it, having past beyond doubt and cavil and gained full knowledge, dependent upon no one else for the religion of the Master, rose from his seat, approacht the Lord, and saluting him sat on one side; then, so sitting, he said to the

(2) *Sāmuḍḍasārika dhammadesanā*. The adjective is important, being connected with Asoko's word *samuddasārika*, in his list of sacred selections. I have shown in the supplement to my *Buddhist Bibliography* (San Francisco, 1904) that Asoko's First Selection was probably the First Sermon, &c.

Lord: "It is excellent, Lord, it is excellent. As one raises what has been thrown down, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has wandered, or holds out a lamp in the darkness that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so has the Doctrine been made clear in manifold exposition (*pariyāyo*) (3) by the Lord. And I, even I, Lord, take refuge in the Lord, the Doctrine and the Order. May the Lord receive me as a disciple who have taken refuge from this day forth so long as life endures!" And forthwith Suppabuddho the leper, being instructed, incited, excited, delighted with the doctrinal discourse of the Lord, was pleased and rejoiced at the speech of the Lord, and, rising from his seat, saluted the Lord and, keeping him on his right hand, departed. And forthwith a cow, even a young calf(4) attackt Suppabuddho the leper and de-

(3) Another important word. The most fundamental maxim of Gotamo's is called a *pariyāyo* of the Doctrine (S. B. E. XIII, p. 146); and Asoko uses this very term to designate a portion of sacred lore. The same term is self-applied to the *Gospel Lotus* in the Sanskrit collection. Moreover, at the Council of Vesāli the parties contended about what had been spoken with and without *pariyāyo*. We know from Majjhima No. 18 that Gotamo said some things concisely, which monks afterwards expanded.

(4) I am not sure of this translation. According to Pali usage, the term "young calf" may be used adjectivally, and mean that the cow was attended by or defending its calf, or even pregnant therewith.

prived him of life. And forthwith a number of monks approacht the Lord, saluted him and sat on one side, and so sitting those monks said to the Lord: "Lord, the leper named Suppabuddho, who was instructed, incited, excited, delighted with the doctrinal discourse of the Lord, has died. What is his future state and supernal destiny?"—"Suppabuddho the leper, O monks, is learned, and has entered upon the Doctrine's lesser doctrine; he did not take offense at me, to whom the Doctrine relates. Suppabuddho the leper, O monks, by the destruction of three Fetters, is an Initiate,(5) not liable to be overthrown, stedfast, and having for his destiny complete Enlightenment."

When this had been spoken, a certain monk said to the Lord: "Lord, what now is the cause and the ground of Suppabuddho being a leper and a poor man, a wretched and woe-begone man?"

"In a former existence, O monks, Suppabuddho the leper was the son of the treasurer in this very Rājagaha. He was going out of the palace garden, and saw Tagarasikhi, a secretly Enlightened One,(6) going for alms around the city, and when he saw him he thought: "Who is this leper who is traveling about?" And he spat insultingly, and went on

(5) See Rhys Davids, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 109.

(6) *Paccekabuddho*, a Buddha who does not proclaim his knowledge.

his way. By the result of that deed he was tormented⁽⁷⁾ for many years, for hundreds, for thousands and hundreds of thousands of years in hell. By the remainder of the same deed's result, he became a poor man in this very Rājagaha, a wretched and woe-begone man. Having come to the Doctrine and Discipline made known by the Tathāgato, he accepted them together; he accepted the conduct, the teaching,⁽⁸⁾ the resignation, and the wisdom. Having come to this and accepted this, he was born, upon the dissolution of the body after death, in the happy state of the world of Paradise,⁽⁹⁾ in the society of the Thirty-three Angels. There he outshines the other angels in splendor and glory. And forthwith the Lord, having understood the fact, on that occasion gave vent to the following Enunciation :

“He who hath eyes, even tho unequal,
when energy is found in him,
Is learned in the world of the living, and
should shun evil deeds.”

(7) Literally, cookt.

(8) Literally, the thing heard (*sutam.*)

(9) *Saggo*, the Swarga of the Brahmins.

**34. SERVING THE SICK, SERVING THE
LORD.**

Matthew XXV. 44, 45.

Then shall they also answer, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me.

Cf. also John XIII. 3-5, the washing of the disciples' feet, for something of the spirit of this scene.

Major Section on Discipline VIII. 26.

(S. P. in Ekottara.)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 240. My attention was drawn to this passage by reading Copleston.

Now at that season a certain monk was sick at the belly, and lay prostrate in his own discharges. And forthwith the Lord, upon going round the sleeping-places, with St. Anando in attendance behind, came to that monk's abode, and saw him so. And he went up to him, and askt him: "What ails thee, O monk?"

"I am sick at the belly, O Lord."

"Hast thou then, O monk, any one to wait upon thee?"

"No one, O Lord."

"Why do not the monks wait upon thee?"

"Because, Lord, I am useless to the monks."

Then the Lord address St. Ānando: "Go, Ānando, and bring water. Let us bathe this monk."

"Even so, Lord," said St. Ānando, in assent unto the Lord, and brought the water. And the Lord poured the water over that monk; and St. Ānando wiped him. And the Lord graspt him by the head, and St. Ānando by the feet, lifted him up, and laid him on his bed.

And forthwith the Lord, in that connection and with that for a text, assembled the Order of monks, and askt them: "Is there, O monks, in such and such an abode, a monk who is sick?"

"There is, O Lord."

"Then what ails him, O monks?"

"Lord, that venerable one is sick at the belly."

"And is there any one, O monks, to wait upon him?"

"No one, Lord."

"Why do not the monks wait upon him?"

"That monk, Lord, is useless to the monks. Therefore they do not wait upon him."

"Monks! Ye have neither fathers nor mothers to wait upon you. If, O monks, ye wait not one upon another, who is there indeed who will wait upon you? *Whosoever, O monks, would wait upon me, let him wait upon the sick.*"

**35. THE PENITENT ROBBER:
exhibiting Buddha's Doctrine of the New Birth
and the Forgiveness of Sins.**

Luke XXIII. 39-43.

And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, Art not thou the Christ? save thyself and us. But the other answered, and rebuking him said, Dost thou not even fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said, Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

John III. 5.

Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

Mark II. 5.

And Jesus seeing their faith saith unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins are forgiven.

Cf. also Eusebius, H. E. III. 23 (the story of the apostle John pursuing and converting the robber.)

Middling Collection, Dialog No. 86.(1)

(C. T. in Chinese Ekottara, sixth nipāto, and in the Bhikshu(2) *Samyukta*.)

Translated by Neumann, in Vol. II. pp. 464-474 of his Reden.

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatti, in the Con-

(1) There is a corrupt version of this story in Spence Hardy, translated from medieval Ceylon sources, but the present is its first translation from the Pāli (October, 1900). Its antiquity is attested by the Pāli Great Chronicle, which tells us that it was sculptured, together with other leading stories from Buddha's life, upon the great Tope at the capital of Ceylon, in the second century B. C. The sculptures of similar scenes at Bharahat and Sāñci forbid our rejecting the Chronicle's list of Ceylon sculptures as fiction.

(2) The same story is found in both versions of the Chinese *Samyukta* with some abbreviations. Here I quote the text from the Chinese Ekottara, found in the Sixth Nipāto. The Ekottara version contains some additional remarks, but when we leave them out the text agrees nearly word for word with the Pāli. (A. M.)

queror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder of the Poor. And at that season, there was a robber named Finger-garland (Angulimālo) in the realm of Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā; and he was barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter, unmerciful to all who live. By him, towns, villages, and districts were made as tho they had never been. He slew men all the time and wore a garland of their fingers.

Now, the Lord, having drest betimes, took his bowl in his robe and went to Sāvatti for alms. When he had gone round it, and had returned from the quest of alms in the afternoon, he rolled up his mat, took his bowl in his robe and entered upon the high-road where Finger-garland the robber was. Then the herdsmen, cattletenders, and farmers, who were working, saw the Lord going thither, and called to him: "O philosopher! Go not upon that road; for a robber named Finger-garland is thereon, who is barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter, unmerciful to all who live. By him towns, villages and districts are made as if they had never been. He slays men all the time and wears a garland of their fingers. O philosopher, men go upon this road only in companies of ten, twenty, thirty or forty; and they go armed for fear of Finger-garland the robber."

When they had said this the Lord went

on his way in silence. And a second and a third time they said so, but still the Lord went on his way in silence.

Now Finger-garland the robber saw the Lord coming from afar, and seeing him he thought to himself: "This is wonderful, this is marvelous: men go upon this road only in companies of ten, twenty, thirty or forty, and they go armed for fear of me; but this philosopher, it seems, is alone, without any one, open to attack. What if I now take the life of this philosopher?" Then Finger-garland the robber took his sword and shield, got bow and quiver ready, and pursued the Lord. But the Lord put forth such an effort of psychical power, that Finger-garland the robber, going with all his might, could not overtake the Lord going by his inner force (*pakati*).⁽³⁾ So the robber thought to himself: "This is wonderful, this is marvelous: hitherto I have chased and caught an elephant running, a horse, a chariot, or a deer; but now, going with all my might, I cannot overtake this philosopher going by his inner force." He stood and said to the Lord: "Philosopher, stand! Philosopher, stand!"

"I am standing, O Finger-garland; stand thou also!"

Then Finger-garland the robber thought

(3) Sanskrit, *Prakriti*, the well-known term in the Sāṅkhya philosophy, for ideal or primordial matter, the mind-stuff of creative power.

to himself: "These Sākya philosophers tell the truth, and mean what they say. And yet this philosopher, even while he is going, says: 'I am standing, O Finger-garland; stand thou also!' What if I now ask him [what he means]?" Then the robber address the Lord with a stanza:

"Philosopher, thou sayest, 'I am standing,'
while thou art going, and thou callest
me standing when thou art not so;

"I ask thee, philosopher, this question:
How art thou standing when I am not
standing?"

[The Lord.] "*I am standing, O Finger-
garland, always among all beings,*(4)
having laid aside the staff;

"But thou art unrestrained among living
things: therefore I am standing and
thou art not."

[The Robber.] "Long has the great Seer
(*Ist*),(5) this philosopher debating in
the Great Forest, been revered by me.

I myself will renounce evil for long, hav-
ing heard thy stanza that is linkt with
religion.

(4) Cf. Rev. III. 20: Behold, I stand at the door,
and knock.

(5) Sanskrit, *Rishi*.

“Even thus does a robber resemble a sword or a weapon at the pit and precipice of hell.”(6)

The robber bowed at the feet of the Auspicious One, and begged of him initiation on the spot.

Then Buddha, the Compassionate Seer, he who is Master of the world with its angels,

Said to him: “Come, O monk;” and this was all there was to make him a monk.(7)

Now, the Lord, with Finger-garland for an attendant philosopher, went on his journey toward Sāvattthi and in due time arrived there; and there the Lord stayed at Sāvattthi, in the Conqueror’s Grove, the cloister-garden of the

(6) *Anvakāri*. The word is not in Childers, but the text here is corrupt or abbreviated.

The Chinese reads: **He threw his sword into the deep** [bottom of a] **precipice**. (A. M.)

(7) Here is inserted an episode in the Chinese. It tells that the robber was trying to kill his mother in order to get a number of fingers necessary to fill up his finger-garland because it was his oath, and that just at the moment he caught sight of the coming philosopher. In this wise in the Chinese version *Angulimālo* is not a mere robber. The same story is told in a *Mahāyāna* text (N. C. No. 434). His garland was to be dedicated to a certain god in order that he might be purified from his sins. There is also added a discourse on the six false views arising from attachment to egotism. On account of this remark the story is taken into the sixth *Nipāto*. (A. M.)

Feeder of the Poor. Now at that season a great crowd collected at the palace-gate of Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, and there went up a hue and cry : "Your Majesty, there is a robber in your realm named Finger-garland, who is barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter, unmerciful to all who live. By him towns, villages, and districts are made as if they had never been. He slays men all the time, and wears a garland of their fingers. Let your Majesty arrest him."

Now Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, departed that day from Sāvatti with some five hundred horses, and proceeded to the cloister-garden. He went by chariot as far as the ground was passable for chariots, and then alighted, and went on foot to where the Lord was. Going up to the Lord, he saluted him and sat respectfully on one side. While he so sat, the Lord said to him : "O great King, is Seniyo Bimbisāro, the King of Magadhā, provoked at you, or the Licchavi [clan] of Vesāli, or other rival kings?" "Nay, Lord, none of these kings are provoked at me. But, Lord, there is in my realm a robber named Finger-garland, who is barbarous, red-handed, devoted to killing and slaughter, unmerciful to all who live. By him towns, villages, and districts are made as if they had never been. He slays men all the time and wears a garland of

their fingers. Lord, I fear I shall not arrest him."

"But, great King, if you saw Finger-garland with his hair and beard cut off, having put on the yellow robes and gone forth from domestic life into the homeless one; abstaining from taking life, from theft, and from lying; eating one meal a day, chaste, moral, with a glorious religion, what would you do to him?"

"Lord, we should salute him respectfully, or rise in his presence, or offer him a seat, or present him with robe and alms-bowl, a dwelling-place, the requisites for sickness, medicine and conveniences; and we should appoint for him the protection, toleration and defense that are due to religion.(8) But, Lord, how could there be such moral restraint in an immoral, wicked man like him?"

Now at that time St. Finger-garland was sitting not far from the Lord. Then the Lord, stretching out his right arm, said to Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā: "This, great King, is Finger-garland!" Then the king was seized with fear, consternation and horror, and the Lord, seeing him so, said to him: "Fear not, great King, fear not: there is nothing for you

(8) Rhys Davids translates the same phrase in the Long Collection thus: **watch and ward and guard according to the law**. The **or** in our present translation of this paragraph arises from a difference in the text.

to fear any more." So the King, who had been terrified, became calm again, and went up to Finger-garland, saying to him: "Surely Your Reverence is not Finger-garland?" "Yes, great King."

"What is the clan of Your Reverence's father, and what is the clan of your mother?"

"Great King, my father is a Gaggero, and my mother a Mantāni."

"May it please Your Reverence Gaggero-Mantāni-son, I shall supply you with a robe, alms-bowl, and dwelling-place, and with the requisites for sickness, medicine and conveniences."

But at that season St. Finger-garland was a forest-dweller, with an alms-bowl, and wearing three robes taken from dustheaps. So he said to the king: "Enough, great King: three robes are my full outfit."

Then Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, approached the Lord, saluted him respectfully, and sat on one side. And so sitting, the King said to the Lord: "Wonderful, O Lord! marvelous, O Lord! is it even until now, O Master and Lord: men are tamed among the untamed, pacified among the unpacified, and among those who have not attained, they are brought to Nirvāṇa (literally, *extinguishd among the non-extinct*). (9) He,

(9) A magnificent paronomasia, quite untranslatable: *aparinibbutānam parinibbāpetā*. The last word is causative, and the literal translation would be very cumbersome: *caused to be extinguishd among those not extinguishd*.

Lord, whom we could not tame by staff or sword, is tamed by the Lord without staff and without sword. But now, Lord, we must go: we have much to do, much business on hand."

"Just as you think fit, great King."

So Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, rose from his seat, saluted the Lord respectfully, and keeping him on his right hand, departed. Then St. Finger-garland, having drest betimes, took bowl in robe and went into Sāvatti for alms. And going thru Sāvatti from house to house for alms, he saw a woman in the agonies of travail, and thereupon thought to himself: "Alas, how beings suffer; alas, how beings suffer!"

Now St. Finger-garland, having gone to Sāvatti for alms and returned in the afternoon, approacht the Lord, saluted him, and sat as usual, and said: "Lord, today on my begging rounds in Sāvatti, while I went from house to house, I saw a woman in the agonies of travail; whereupon I thought to myself: 'Alas, how beings suffer; alas, how beings suffer!'"

"Well now, Finger-garland, go to Sāvatti, go up to that woman and say this: 'Since I was born, sister, I do not remember that I ever purposely took the life of anything that breathes. By this truth be there safety to thee and safety to thy womb.'"

"But Lord, that would surely be for me a deliberate lie : by me, Lord, have many breathing things been reft of life."

"Well, then, Finger-garland, go to Sāvatti, approach that woman and say : 'Sister, since I was BORN OF THE NOBLE BIRTH I do not remember that I ever purposely took the life of aught that breathes. By this truth be there safety to thee, and safety to thy womb.'"

"Even so, Lord," said St. Finger-garland, in assent unto the Lord ; and going into Sāvatti, he approacht that woman and said : "Sister, since I was BORN OF THE NOBLE BIRTH I do not remember that I ever purposely took the life of aught that breathes. By this truth be there safety to thee and safety to thy womb."

Whereupon there was safety to that woman and safety to her womb.

And forthwith St. Finger-garland, dwelling alone, retired, earnest, ardent and strenuous for a little time, realized by his own supernal knowledge, and even in this world, that incomparable goal of the religious life, for the sake whereof do veritable gentlemen go forth from the domestic life into the homeless one : he perceived that birth was destroyed, that the religious life was lived, and duty done, and after this existence there was naught beyond. And so St. Finger-garland became one of the Arahats.

Now St. Finger-garland, having drest be-times, took bowl in robe, and went to Sāvatti for alms; and on one occasion a clod of earth was thrown and hit his person; upon another occasion a stick, and yet again a stone. Then St. Finger-garland, with his head broken and the blood flowing, his bowl broken and his robe rent, approacht the Lord. And the Lord saw him coming from afar, and said to him: "Bear up, O Brahmin, bear up! *You are feeling in this world the effect of some deed for which you would have been tormented in hell for many years, for many hundreds and thousands of years.*"

Then St. Finger-garland, when secluded and solitary, felt the bliss of deliverance, and on that occasion gave vent to the following Enunciation.

The dialog ends with a page of rugged verse, which recurs in the Book of Stanzas by Monks, and probably goes back to some expressions of Angulimālo himself. Because the sūtra is accompanied by stanzas, the Chinese Āgamas have it in the Bhikshu section of the Sagāthavaggo of the Classified Collection instead of in the Middling.

The words italicized are important. This is the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. To the Arahāt all the past is wiped away, and he only suffers such physical effects of evil as those described; but no retribution can follow him beyond the grave.

**36. DISCIPLES REPELLED BY
DEEP DOCTRINE.**

John VI. 66.

**Upon this many of his disciples went back,
and walkt no more with him.**

Numerical Collection VII. 68.

(Chinese Middling Collection, No. 5. Agreement perfect.)

**Now, when this discourse [on Burning]
was spoken, hot blood gusht from the mouths
of some sixty monks, while other sixty rejected
the teaching, and went back to the world, say-
ing: "Hard is the Lord, very hard is the
Lord!" But the hearts of yet other sixty
monks, who clung not to the Depravities, were
emancipated.**

**37. TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO THE
CAPITAL; WITH PEAN.**

Luke XIX. 37-38.

And as he was now drawing nigh, [even] at the descent of the Mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the powers which they had seen; saying, Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 22.

(C. T., N. C. 1117.)(1)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XIII, p. 141.

Now Seniyo Bimbisāro, the King of Magadhā, when the night had past, commanded excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and the time to be announced to the Lord, thus:

“It is time, Lord: the meal is ready.”

And the Lord, having drest betimes, took

(1) We have in the Chinese three (at least) different versions of this story. The one I quote here is in the Vinaya Text of the Dharmagupta School. Another is in that of the Mahīśāsakas. The stanzas spoken by Sakko in answer to the people are longer in the Dharmagupta Vinaya. A third version is found in the Madhyama-āgama No. 62. But this version omits Sakko's stanzas in Buddha's praise. (A. M.)

his bowl in his robe, and entered Kinghouse (Rājagaha) with a great company of monks, with a thousand monks who had all been wild ascetics before.

Now at that season Sakko the Lord of the angels, assuming the appearance of a young brahmin, walkt in front of the company of monks with the Buddha at its head, and sang the following stanzas :

The Self-Controlled One with the self-controlled, together with the wild ascetics that were ; the Emancipated One with the emancipated,

The Altogether Golden, the Lord, hath entered Kingshouse.

The Delivered One with the delivered, together with the wild ascetics that were ; the Emancipated One with the emancipated,

The Altogether Golden, the Lord, hath entered Kingshouse.

He who hath crost [the ocean of passion] with those who have crost it, together with the wild ascetics that were ; the Emancipated One with the emancipated,

The Altogether Golden, the Lord, hath entered Kingshouse.

Endowed with ten nobilities of mind, ten
powers, understanding the ten condi-
tions, and of ten possest,

The one with retinue of hundreds ten, the
Lord, hath entered Kingshouse.

When men saw Sakko, the Lord of the
angels, they said: "This young brahmin is
handsome indeed, fair to behold, giving delight.
To whom does this young brahmin belong?"
[i. e. Whose attendant student is he?]

Whereupon Sakko the Lord of the angels
address those men with a stanza :

"He who is entirely tamed, unrivalled
Buddha,

The Arahāt, the world's Auspicious One,
his attendant am I."

It is doubtless hypercriticism to observe that
Luke's refrain, alone among the four Evangelists,
who all describe this scene, is curiously parallel to
the Pāli :

Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος Βασιλεὺς :

RĀJagaham PĀVISI BHAGAVĀ.

So also the mention of powers (*δυναμεις*) recalls
the *dasabalo* of our passage. Anesaki tells me that
the Chinese Mahāvastu (Nanjio 587) has an account
of the Triumphal Entry in perfect agreement with
the Pāli.

38. PSYCHICAL POWERS:

**Appearing and Vanishing,
Walking on Water, &c.**

Aristion's Appendix (Mark XVI. 17, 18.)

And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak with [new] tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

Luke XXIV. 31; 36.

And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and *he vanisht out of their sight*.....And as they spake these things, he himself stood in the midst of them.

John XX. 19; 26.

When therefore it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and *when the doors were shut* where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, *Jesus came and stood in the midst*, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.....

And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them. Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.

Mark VI. 48 and parallels (told of Christ.)

And seeing them distress in rowing, for the wind was contrary unto them, about the fourth watch of the night he cometh unto them, *walking on the sea.*

Matthew XIV. 29 (told of Peter.)

And he said, Come. And Peter went down from the boat, and *walkt upon the waters*, to come to Jesus.⁽¹⁾

Numerical Collection III. 60.

(C. P. in Chinese Dirgha, No. 24.) (2)

Compare also Middling Collection, Dialog No. 6, translated in S. B. E. XI ; Long Collection, Dialog No. 11, translated in *Dialogs of the Buddha* (1899), each by Rhys Davids, and the former also into German by Neumann.

(1) See Appendix, No. 7.

(2) Cf. also the Ekottara, which connects the sermon with the story of the conversion of the three Kāṣyapas. The text corresponding to *Saṅgārava* of the *Anguttara*, here translated, is found in No. 143 of the Chinese *Madhyama*. (A. M.)

O Brahmin, there are these three miracles. (3) What three? The miracle of psychical power, the miracle of mind-reading, and the miracle of education. What, O Brahmin, is the miracle of psychical power? In this case, O Brahmin, one enjoys in various ways a kind of psychical power: from being one he becomes multiform, from being multiform he becomes one; he *appears and vanishes*; he *goes without hindrance to the farther side of a wall* or battlement or mountain, as if thru air; he plunges into earth and emerges, as if in water, he *walks on the water* without dividing it, as if on earth; like a bird on wing he travels thru the air in the posture of meditation; and yonder sun and moon, so magical, so mighty, he feels and touches with his hand; while up to the world of God he reaches even in the body. This, O Brahmin, is called the miracle of psychical power.

And what, Brahmin, is the miracle of mind-reading? In this case, O Brahmin, one reads minds by visible indication, and says: "Your mind is thus, your mind is so, your heart is so-and-so." Even if he read much, it is always as he says, and not otherwise. Again,

(3) *Pātihāriya* is the regular word for a display of magical power or jugglery, and is best rendered "miracle." The word *Īddhi*, translated "psychical power," is more dignified. Burnouf renders it "puissance surnaturelle."

O Brahmin, one reads minds not by visible indication, but by hearing the voice of men, demons or angels, and then declaring the state of mind; and even if he read much, he is always right. Nor alone by these means does he read, but he hears the sound of thought-vibrations from thinking and reflecting, and in this way comes to read the mind and heart. And as before, he is always right. Then again, besides visible indication, voice and thought-vibration, one ascertains the trance-mind of a man absorbed in rapture beyond thought and beyond reflection, by heart-to-heart perception, so that one can say: "From the determinate mental conformation of this friend, from the nature of his heart, he will think such and such a thought." And as before, he is always right. This, O Brahmin, is called the miracle of mind-reading.

What, now, Brahmin, is the miracle of education?

In this case, O Brahmin, one educates on this wise: "Think thus instead of so; consider thus instead of thus. Renounce this; train yourself in that, and abide therein." This, Brahmin, is called the miracle of education. And these are the three miracles. (4)

(4) In Dīgha No. 11, Gotamo says: It is because I see the danger in miracles of psychical power and of mind-reading, that I detest, abhor and despise them. In the semi-canonical Sanskrit Divyāvadāna, he says that he commands the disciples not to work miracles, but to hide their good deeds and show their sins.

Which of the three, think you, is the most excellent and most refined ?

Well, now, Gotamo, as to the miracle of psychical power, he who performs and experiences this has the benefit all to himself. This kind of miracle, Gotamo, appears to me a natural accompaniment of religion. And I think the same of the second, the miracle of mind-reading. But that last one, Gotamo, that miracle of education, appears to me the most excellent and most refined. Wonderful, O Gotamo, marvelous, O Gotamo, is this good saying of yours ; and we hold that you are endowed with all three of these miracles. Gotamo can indeed practise every one of the aforesaid psychical powers, from becoming multiform to reaching in the body unto the world of God. Gotamo can ascertain the trance-mind of man absorbed in rapture beyond thought and beyond reflection, by heart-to-heart perception, and can say from the determinate conformation and the nature of the heart what the thought will be. And Gotamo can educate by telling what to think and what to consider ; what to renounce, wherein to train oneself, and wherein to abide.

It is true, O Brahmin, that I have attained to all that you have said, and I will furthermore assert that I can do each of the three miracles in question.(5)

But is there, Gotamo, a single other monk

(5) In this and similar cases the tedious repetitions of the original are condensed into the style of our Western rhetoric.

who is endowed with these miracles besides yourself?

Brahmin, not only one, nor a hundred, nor two, three, four, or five hundred, but even more monks there are who are endowed with these three miracles.

But, Gotamo, where do these monks now dwell?

In this very Order, O Brahmin !

Excellent, O Gotamo! excellent! As one raises what has been thrown down, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out a lamp in the darkness that those who have eyes may see the objects, just even so has the Doctrine been made clear by Gotamo in manifold exposition. And I, even I, take refuge in Gotamo, his Doctrine and his Order. May Gotamo receive as a lay-disciple, from this day forth as long as life endures, me who have taken refuge [in him].

The Miracle of Education reminds one of Plato's Exegete (i. e. the Delphic Oracle as a counsellor. See the *Republic*, Book 4.)

39. THE SAINT SUPERIOR TO HARM.

Luke X. 19.

Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy : and nothing shall in any wise hurt you.

Aristion's Appendix (Mark XVI. 17, 18).

And these signs shall follow them that believe : in my name shall they cast out demons ; they shall speak with [new] tongues ; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them.

Numerical Collection XI. 16.

Quoted in *The Questions of King Milinda* : S. B. E., Vol. XXXV, p. 279. See also Birth-Story, No. 169.

Eleven benefits, O monks, are due from the cultivation of Love,—from practising it, developing, making it active and practical, pursuing it, accumulating, and striving to the height of its heart-deliverance.

What are the eleven?—One sleeps in peace and wakes in peace ; he dreams no evil dream ; he is dear unto mortals and immortals ; the angels watch over him ; fire, poison, sword can harm him not ; quickly his heart is calmed ; the aspect of his countenance is serene ; he meets death undismayed ; and should he fail of the Highest, he is sure to go to the world of God.

40. POWER OVER SERPENTS.

Luke X. 19, (as above).

Justin Martyr adds *centipedes*.

Minor Section on Discipline, V. 6.

(C. T., N. C. 1122). (1) Translated in S. B. E., XX., p. 75.

Now at that season a certain monk died of the bite of a serpent. They told the matter to the Lord.....And he said: "Now surely that monk, O monks, did not diffuse his Love toward the four royal breeds of serpents! Had he done so, he would not die of the bite of one."

The reason why I capitalize *Love* is because it is a technical term, and means literally and forcibly *willing what is good*. By a systematic practise of this love-meditation, or projection of affectionate thought-waves toward all creatures, Gotamo, as we have read in a former translation, (2) became the Deity of a bygone cycle.

(1) We have this story and the stanzas *Virūpakkhehi* in the Pali Anguttara IV. 6. (Vol. II. p. 273) and in Chinese. (N. C. No. 544). Cf. my book on Buddhism, p. 110 (3). (A. M.)

(2) Parallel 57, which first appeared in April, 1900, while No. 40 appeared in June, 1900.

41. POWER OVER WATER.

Mark IV. 39.

And he awoke and rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace! Be still. And the wind ceast, and there was a great calm.

Major Section on Discipline, I. 20.

Translated by Davids and Oldenberg, S. B. E. XIII, pp. 130, 131.

C. T. Dharmagupta Vinaya, N. C. 1117.(1)

Now on that occasion there rained a great unseasonable cloud, and a great flood arose. In the place where the Lord was sojourning, that place was not pervaded by water. Then the Lord reflected: "Suppose now I drive out the water around, and pace in meditation on dust-covered ground in the midst." So the Lord drove out the water around, and paced in meditation upon dust-covered ground in the midst.

For rain-making power, see Parallel 45, below.

(1) Instead of *mahāudakavāḥako sañjāyi*, it reads: [The rain] poured like elephant-urine, and the water was so deep as to reach men's loins. (A. M.)

42. MIRACULOUS WATER PROCEEDS
FROM THE SAINT.

John VII. 38. He that believeth on me,
as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly
shall flow rivers of living water.

The Way to Supernal Knowledge.

(*Patīsamḥidā-maggo*) 1. 53.

What is the Tathāgato's knowledge of the twin miracle? In this case, the Tathāgato works a twin miracle unrivaled by disciples: from his upper body proceeds a flame of fire, *and from his lower body proceeds a torrent of water*. Again from his lower body proceeds a flame of fire, and from his upper body a torrent of water.

Here the words of John, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ
ρευσσουσιν ὕδατος equate the Pāli *hetthimakāyato udaka-*
dhārā pavattati, except for the tense and num-
ber, and the word proceed or roll forth, instead
of flow, and lower body instead of belly.
The addition of ζωντος in the Greek is the only
word which can be ascribed to the Old Testament:
living water occurs in several of the prophets.
But the quotation as a whole is not there. Dean
Alford, in his commentary, voices the despair of all
the exegetes from the beginning, when he says:
"We look in vain for such a text in the Old Testa-

ment, and an apocryphal or lost canonical book is out of the question."

For an argument that this text is quoted by John from a Buddhist source, the reader is referred to my essay on *Buddhist Texts in John*: (Philadelphia, 1906.) Estlin Carpenter, in writing to me upon the subject of this essay, prefers to trace the source to some lost midrash. In Zohar, Book I, he finds a comment on Proverbs V. 15, which says that the souls of the righteous shall become a fountain and shall gush forth living water in all directions. Such fancies as this, says he, such as the notion that the reins of Abraham were two wells of instruction, are behind the verse in John. It may be so, but my argument is cumulative, and rests upon the express citation of two Buddhist texts as Scripture (John VII. 38 ; XII. 34), plus the agreement of others. The Japanese abbot, Shaku Soyen, in his Sermons, calls attention to the Buddhist tone of John's Gospel. In spite of the Fourth Evangelist's exclusiveness in speaking of former leaders as thieves and robbers, he is eclectic and universal in his general treatment, and would quote any sacred sentiment that occurred to him.

The present text implies the ancient doctrine of the microcosm : the saint is conceived as uniting in himself all nature, and hence in the water-meditation he is assimilated to water, and in the flame-meditation he passes away in fire. This mysticism is quite Johannine, as in John VI, where the flesh and blood of the Son of Man must be partaken of by the believer.

43. FAITH TO REMOVE MOUNTAINS.

Matthew XVII. 20, 21.

And he saith unto them, Because of your little faith : for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place ; and it shall remove ; and nothing shall be impossible unto you. [But this kind goeth not out save by prayer and fasting.]

Repeated in Matthew XXI, which is parallel with Mark XI. But the added verse which appears in some MSS., Matt. XVII. 21, is analogous to Gotamo's exclamation about ignorance.

Numerical Collection VI. 24.

Monks, a monk endowed with six qualities can cleave the Himālaya, the monarch of mountains. But what a doctrine for vile ignorance ! Which are the six ?

Monks, suppose a monk is expert in the attainment of Trance (or, concentration), in the maintenance thereof and the rising therefrom ; expert in the obscure intimations of trance, in its range, and in earnest aspiration thereunto. A monk endowed with these six qualities, O monks, can cleave the Himālaya, the monarch of mountains. But what a doctrine for vile ignorance !

In the medieval Additions to the Talmud, there

44. HEALING THE SICK

is a story told by Rabbi Nathan of a stone-cutter who broke up a mountain piecemeal, and pusht the last remaining rock into the Jordan. Tho told as a parable, it appears to preserve some reminiscence of a Palestinian trying to carry out literally the words of Christ. See Rodkinson's Babylonian Talmud, translation of Tract Aboth, p. 29.

44. HEALING THE SICK.

Matthew VIII. 16.

When even was come, they brought unto him many demoniacs: and he cast out the spirits *with a word*, and healed all that were sick.

The parallel passage in Mark I. 34, says that he healed *many*, not all.

John XV. 3.

Already ye are clean *because of the word* which I have spoken unto you.

It is true that spiritual cleanness is here meant, but we know that in the New Testament, the two go hand in hand. See Mark II. 5; John V. 14.

Classified Collection XLVI. 14.

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū Grove beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground. Now at that season St. Kassapo the Great was staying at the Fig-tree Grotto, and was sick, suffering and severely ill. Then the Lord, having arisen from his evening retirement, went up to St. Kassapo the Great, and sat on a seat prepared for him. And so sitting, the Lord said: "I hope you are bearing up; I hope you are able to move, and that your pains are going away, and not coming on. Deep breathing is a sign that they are going away, and not coming on."

"No, Lord; I am not bearing up; I am not able to move; my severe pains are coming on; they are not going away; the deep breathing is a sign that they are coming on, and not going away."

"Kassapo, there are these seven branches of wisdom thoroly taught by me, practist and

developt; and they conduce to higher knowledge, to full enlightenment, to Nirvāna. What are the seven? They are:

- [1.] Mental collectedness.
- [2.] Search for truth.
- [3.] Will-power.
- [4.] Joy.
- [5.] Peace.
- [6.] Sustained collectedness (or, Trance).
- [7.] Equanimity.

These are the seven branches of wisdom thoroly taught by me, practist and developt; and they conduce to higher knowledge, to full enlightenment, to Nirvāna."

"Certainly, O Lord, these are the branches of wisdom. Certainly, O Auspicious One, these are the branches of wisdom."

This is what the Lord said, and St. Kassapo the Great was rapt and rejoiced at the utterance of the Lord. And St. Kassapo the Great got up from that sickness; and so his sickness was renounced. (1)

Ditto XLVI. 15.

The more celebrated disciple Moggallāno is cured in the same way at the Vulture's Peak.

(1) *Pahīno*, the regular word for renouncing or forsaking sin.

Ditto XLVI. 16.

At one season the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū Grove beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground. Now at that season the Lord was sick, suffering, and severely ill. And St. Cundo the Great went up to the Lord, and sat respectfully on one side. And while he was so sitting, the Lord said to him: "Cundo, call to mind the seven branches of wisdom."

"Lord, there are these seven branches of wisdom thoroly taught by the Lord, practist and develope; and they conduce to higher knowledge, to full enlightenment, to Nirvāna."

[Cundo then recites them as given above.]

"Certainly, Cundo, these are the branches of wisdom; these are the branches of wisdom."

This is what St. Cundo the Great said, and the Master approved. Then the Lord got up from that sickness; and thus his sickness was renounced.

All three of these passages are in the *Parittā*, an ancient Pāli manual of Scriptural selections for use in daily life. It was partly translated into French (but with none of these passages) by Léon Feer in 1871, who also, in 1883, translated the first of the three from the Tibetan. The *Parittā* or *Parittam* (i.e. *Defense*) is used in Ceylon to this day as a ward against evil. The Greek historian Arrian

45. PRAYER

(second century, but using pre-Christian sources) bears witness to the Hindū belief in spiritual healing. He says (*Indica* 15): "The Sophists.....were supposed to cure whatever was curable, not without God (οὐκ ἀνευ θεου)."'

45. PRAYER.

Mark XI. 24, 25.

All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them. And whensoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses.

James V. 16-18.

The supplication of a righteous man availleth much in its working. Elijah was a man of like passions with us, and he prayed fervently that it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth for three years and six months. And he prayed again; and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit.

Middling Collection, Dialog 41.

Citizens, if a pious and upright man should wish : "Oh, that I, upon the body's dissolution after death, may be born into fellowship with a great family of [the caste of the] Nobles !" it will come to pass : upon the body's dissolution after death he will be born into fellowship with a great family of Nobles. And why ? Because he was pious and upright.

Citizens, if a pious and upright man should wish to be born after death into a great Brahmin family, a great middle-class family, or into fellowship with the various orders of angels [which are enumerated], he will be so, because pious and upright. And if he should wish, after destruction of the cardinal vices, to realize by his own supernal knowledge in this present world, to be initiated into, and abide in the viceless deliverance of heart and intellect, it will come to pass.

Classified Collection XLI. 10. (C. T. in Chinese).

On this occasion the citizen⁽¹⁾ Citto was sick, suffering and severely ill. Then a number of park-fairies, forest-fairies, tree-fairies—fairies dwelling among the lords of plants, grasses and forests—came flocking together unto the citizen Citto and said: “Pray,⁽²⁾ citizen, that in the future you may be a king, an emperor (*Cakkavatti*).”

Citto refuses to pray for temporal prosperity, and instead he converts his friends and kinsfolk to Buddhism, after which he dies. In both Christian and Buddhist texts we have the central idea that the strong aspiration of a good man takes effect. But he must first be good.⁽³⁾ To the Christian it is the answer of God to petition; to the Buddhist it is the response of cosmic law.

Birth-Story 75.

[The Future Buddha speaks.]

“Friend Pajjunno, I am distrest for my kinsfolk’s sake. I am moral and austere, and why sendest thou no rain from heaven? Tho born where it is customary to prey on one’s kins-

(1) *Gahapati*, literally “householder,” but meaning also a village magistrate, a financier, a commoner, a social magnate.

(2) *Panidhehi*. The use of this word in Buddhist literature is equivalent to the Christian praying.

(3) Compare Middling Collection, Dialog 6, translated in S. B. E. XI.

folk, I have never from my youth up devoured any fish, even of the size of a grain of rice; nor have I ever robbed a single creature of its life. By this truth I adjure thee to send rain and deliver my kinsfolk from pain." There-withal he called unto Pajjunno, the angel-king, as a master might call an attendant or a slave, in this stanza :

"Thunder, O Pajjunno ! Destroy the food
of the crow !

Deliver the crow unto sorrow, and release
me from the same."

Even as if ordering an attendant or a slave, the future Buddha called to Pajjunno, bringing thereby a great rain over the whole kingdom of Kosalā, and delivering a great many folk from the pain of death.

This doctrine of the Efficacy of Goodness (*puñño* and *sīla-guṇo*) is conspicuous in the Birth-Stories. A hero protests innocence of certain crimes or proficiency in certain virtues, and then adjures the unseen Power or powers by this Act of Truth (*sacca-kiriyam*), saying, as above : By this truth, do so and so. We have already had an example from the Sūtras themselves (Parallel 35, p. 23). In the commentary or introductory story to Jātaka 75, Buddha himself causes a rainfall at Sāvatthi. It is in a time of severe drought, and the pool beside the Conqueror's Grove is dried up.

46. MENTAL ORIGIN OF DISEASE

Gotamo wishes to bathe, and orders the astonished Ānando to bring his bath-robe. Standing on the steps of the tank, he simply says: "I would fain bathe in the tank of the Victor's Grove." Sakko's throne becomes hot, and he commands the proper authority to send rain. Torrents fall over all Kosalā.

46. MENTAL ORIGIN OF DISEASE.

Mark II. 5.

Jesus, seeing their faith, saith unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins are forgiven.

John V. 14.

Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.

Classified Collection XXXV. 74. (C. T. in Chinese.)

This took place at Sāvatti.

A certain monk approacht the Lord in the usual way, and sitting on one side, he said unto him : " Lord, there is in such and such a cloister a new and inexperienced monk who is sick, suffering and severely ill. Will the Lord be so kind as to go to him and comfort him ?"

Then the Lord, considering that this monk was a novice and sick and inexperienced, went to him. Now when that monk saw the Lord coming, even from afar, he began to make room on the couch. Then the Lord said to him : "Come, now, there is no need to act thus : there are seats here made ready : I will sit on one of them." And the Lord did so. While sitting, he said to the monk : "Surely, monk, you can bear up ; you are able to move ; the pains are going away and not coming on. Your deep breathing is a sign that they are going away, and not coming on."

"No, Lord, I cannot bear up ; I am not able to move ; my sharp pains are coming on ; they are not going away. The deep breathing is a sign that they are coming on, and not going away."

"Monk, you have not any remorse or regret about anything, have you ?"

"Certainly, Lord ; I have much remorse and much regret."

"You surely are not to blame for any misconduct?"

"It is not that, Lord."

"Well, monk, if you are not to blame for any misconduct, then why have you remorse and regret?"

"Lord, I do not know the meaning of the doctrine of moral purity taught by the Lord."

"Well, monk, if you do not know that, what doctrine taught by me do you know the meaning of?"

"Lord, I know the meaning of the doctrine about passion and abstinence taught by the Lord."

"Good, monk, good. It is well that you know the meaning of the doctrine about passion and abstinence taught by me, for the meaning of these is the doctrine I teach. What think you, O monk? Is the eye permanent or impermanent?"

"Impermanent, Lord."

"Are the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind permanent or impermanent?"

"Impermanent, Lord."

"But is the impermanent painful or pleasant?"

"Painful, Lord."

"Well, then, can you predicate of what is

impermanent, painful and liable to change:
‘This is mine, I am this, this is myself?’ ”

“No, Lord, you cannot.”

“Monk, when the noble and learned disciple sees this, he grows weary of the eye, weary of ear, nose, tongue, body and mind. He knows that after this existence there is no beyond.”

This is what the Lord said, and that monk was rapt and rejoiced at the utterance of the Lord. And while that exposition was being uttered, there arose in that monk the pure and spotless eye of religion, namely the truth, that whatever has the quality of beginning has also the quality of cessation.

The question about remorse and regret brings out the idea that disease is the result of sin or of bad mental states induced thereby. In *Majjhima* 36, a Jain objects that the Buddhists have mastery over their minds, but not over their bodies. Gotamo replies: **When the body is uncontrolled, so is the heart: when the body is controlled, the heart is likewise.**

**47. DISPLAY OF PSYCHICAL POWER
FORBIDDEN.**

Mark VIII. 11, 12.

And the Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him. And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why doth this generation seek a sign? Verily, I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation.

Minor Section on Discipline, V. 8.

(C. T., Mahāśāka Vinayo.) Translated in S. B. E. XX. p. 81.

Ye are not, O monks, to display psychical power or miracle of superhuman kind before the laity. Whoever does so is guilty of a misdemeanor.

48. SAVING POWER OF BELIEF.

Mark IX. 23.

Jesus said unto him, If thou canst! All things are possible to him that believeth.

Cf. John III. 18, and the New Testament thruout.

Numerical Collection I. 17. (C. T., N. C. 714.)

Monks, I do not perceive another single quality whereby beings, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in states of suffering, woe, destruction and hell, to be compared, O monks, to false belief.

Beings possess of false belief, O monks, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in states of suffering, woe, destruction and hell.

Monks, I do not perceive another single quality whereby beings, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in the world of weal and paradise, to be compared, O monks, with Right Belief.(1)

Beings possess of Right Belief, O monks, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rise again in the world of paradise.

(1) The first step in the Noble Eightfold Path of Gotamo's famous Sermon in the Deer Park near Benares. The doctrine of the saving power of Belief is thus fundamental in Buddhism.

Josiah N. Cushing, in his posthumous *Christ and Buddha* (Philadelphia, 1907) observes that there is a slight parallelism between Nirvāṇa and Eternal Life. But the parallel is rather between the latter and the life of the Buddhist paradise (*saggo*); or, better still, the life of the world of Brahmā, the supreme personal Ruler. As we shall observe below (Parallel 58, note), the supreme personal God of Buddhism is not the First Cause, but the highest human being in the universe. Nirvāṇa is beyond all: beyond the universe, beyond heaven, beyond God. It has no Christian parallel whatever. It is more akin to Herbert Spencer's Unknowable, and consequently finds no place in the present book.

**49. SPIRITUAL SONSHIP AND
SPIRITUAL SACRIFICE.**

John I. 12-13.

But as many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

John III. 5-7.

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born anew.

Romans VIII. 17.

If children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him.

1. Corinthians IV. 15.

For tho ye should have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I begat you thru the Gospel.

Galatians IV. 19.

My little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you.

Philemon 10.

I beseech thee for my child, whom I have begotten in my bonds.

(On sacrifice)

Matthew IX. 13.

But go ye and learn what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice: for I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

[*I desire mercy, and not sacrifice*, is a quotation from Hosea VI. 6.]

Matthew XII. 7.

But if ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.

Hebrews IX. 23.

It was necessary therefore that the copies of the things in the heavens should be cleansed with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.

Logia Book 100. (S. P., N. C. 546.) (1)

This was said by the Lord, said by the Arahāt, and heard by me.

Monks, I am a Brahmin, suitable to beg of; drinking always pure drink; wearing my last body; an incomparable Healer and Physician. Ye are my lawful sons, born of my mouth, born of my religion(2); spiritual heirs, not carnal ones.

There are also, O monks, both carnal and spiritual alms; carnal and spiritual distribution; carnal and spiritual help. And the spiritual is always the chief.

And again there are two sacrifices: carnal sacrifice and spiritual sacrifice; and of these twain, the chief one, monks, is the spiritual sacrifice.

This is the meaning of what the Lord spake, and here it is rendered thus:

He who, without stint, hath offered a spiritual sacrifice—

The Tathāgato, who pitieth all beings—

(1) Logion 100 is wanting in the Chinese *Itivṛtika* (N. C. No. 714), but this passage with omission of the utterance about the spiritual sacrifice is found in the text corresponding to the *Samyutta* VIII. 7, i. e. the text above cited and in N. C. No. 544. The similarity of this Logia passage to the Sela of the Sutta Nipāto is also to be noticed. To this latter text we have a corresponding text in the Chinese *Ekottara*, but the stanzas are omitted. (A. M.)

(2) Or, spiritually born (*dhamma*-born).

He indeed is the best among angels and
mortals:

Sentient beings worship him who hath
past beyond Existence.

Exactly this is the meaning of what the
Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

50. THE SPIRITUAL WARFARE
IS INTERNECINE.

Luke XII. 49-53.

I came to cast fire upon the earth; and
what will I, if it is already kindled? But I
have a baptism to be baptized with; and how
am I straitened till it be accomlisht! Think
ye that I am come to give peace in the earth?
I tell you, Nay; but rather division: for there
shall be from henceforth five in one house

divided, three against two, and two against three. They shall be divided, father against son, and son against father; mother against daughter, and daughter against her mother; mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.

Matthew X. 34-36.

Think not that I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: and a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

Hymns of the Faith 294, 295.

(C. T. Nanjio 1321 and 1439. The verses are quoted in N. C. 1273 and 1275.)

Mother and father having slain,
And two kings of the Warrior caste;
A kingdom and its people having slain,
A Brahmin scatheless goes.

Mother and father having slain,
And two kings of the Brahmin caste,
Yea, and an eminent man besides,
A Brahmin scatheless goes.

There was a law in ancient India forbidding a Brahmin to be executed tho guilty of the worst crimes. (S. B. E. Vol. II, p. 42; XIV, pp. 201 and 233). The Buddhists, who so often use the word Brahmin in a mystic sense, allude here to the killing of our psychical parents, craving and ignorance. See the note in Beal's *Dhammapada from the Chinese*. Paul Carus, in quoting this note (*Buddhism and its Christian Critics*, pp. 190, 191) adduces Matthew X. 21 as a parallel. But this text refers to Persecution. The true parallel is based upon an oracle of the prophet Micah's (VII. 6). In Matthew, the prediction of persecution is closely associated with the mystic utterance about spiritual warfare, but Luke rightly separates the two (Luke XII. 4-12; 49-53).

51. SELF-MARTYRDOM;

or,

RELIGIOUS SUICIDE.

Mark VIII. 31-36.

And he began to teach them, that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again. And he spake the saying openly. And Peter took him, and began to rebuke him. But he turning about, and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter, and saith, Get thee behind me, Satan : for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men. And he called unto him the multitude with his disciples, and said unto them, If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it ; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life ?

The prediction of his passion is repeated by Jesus : Mark IX. 12, 13 ; 30-32 ; and again as follows :

Mark X. 32-34.

And they were in the way, going up to Jerusalem; and *Jesus was going before them: and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid.* And he took again the twelve, and began to tell them the things that were to happen unto him, [saying,] Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests and the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles: and they shall mock him, and shall spit upon him, and shall scourge him, and shall kill him; and after three days he shall rise again.

The remarkable passage in italics is peculiar to Mark, tho Luke preserves an echo of it: Luke XIX. 28. And when he had thus spoken, he went on before, going up to Jerusalem. This is a frequent phenomenon in Luke: an echo survives of a passage otherwise suppressed or even contradicted, as at XXIV. 6, where the words, when he was yet in Galilee, are a reminiscence of Mark's charge to go into Galilee, and expect there an apparition of the risen Christ, who, according to Luke, appeared only in Judea.

In the present case, the full meaning of the going on before is only clear from Mark, like so many other things of human interest. *Jesus became excited in anticipation of his martyrdom, and*

walkt ahead of the disciples at so rapid a pace that they were astonisht.

Mark IX. 43-48.

If thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off : it is good for thee to enter into life maimed, rather than having thy two hands to go into hell, into the unquenchable fire. And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off : it is good for thee to enter into life halt, rather than having thy two feet to be cast into hell. And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out : it is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell ; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quencht.

This command is found in Matthew, not only in the parallel text (XVIII. 8, 9,) but also in the Sermon on the Mount (V. 29, 30). Its genuineness is therefore as certain as anything can be that Jesus said : an agreement between Mark and the Logia-Source being conclusive. Luke, however, suppresses it altogether. Mark supplies the occasion : viz., Christ's final meditations upon his destiny and the deep mysteries of death. All these texts belong to the last scenes. His rebuke to Peter implies that Divine reasons require his martyrdom, while Peter can only think humanly and wish his Master to live.

Classified Collection,
Book of Temptations, Chapter III. 3.
(Chap. 8 in Chinese.)

THUS HAVE I HEARD: Once the Lord was staying at the Capital, in the Bamboo Grove, at the squirrels' feeding-ground. And on that occasion St. Godhiko was staying at Black Rock upon Mount Seer-hill. Now St. Godhiko was continuing earnest, ardent and strenuous and attained the heart-deliverance of Trance. And then St. Godhiko failed of that heart-deliverance of trance. Then a second time he continued earnest, ardent and strenuous and attained as before, but failed also as before. And so unto six times. At last, at the seventh trial, he thought: "Six times have I failed of the heart-deliverance of trance. What now I commit suicide?" (*Literally*, fetch a sword.) Now, Māro, the Evil One, perceiving St. Godhiko's intention, approacht the Lord and uttered this stanza:—

"O Hero great! O Intellect sublime!
Shining with glory of supernal power,
All wrath and fear transcending,
Thy feet I worship, Seeing One!
O Hero great, thy follower,
Death-overcoming, longs for death,
Yea, thinketh thereupon.
Dissuade him, O thou splendor-bearer!
Lord, how shall follower of thine,

With thy religion pleased,
While yet novitiate, whose heart has not
attained,
Depart this life, O famed of men?"

Then at that very time St. Godhiko committed suicide; and the Lord, recognizing Māro the Evil One, address him in this verse:

"The wise thus do indeed,
They hanker not for life;
O'ercoming Thirst and the root thereof,
Godhiko hath unto Nirvāṇa past."

Then the Lord address the monks:
'Come, brethren, let us go to Black Rock upon Mount Seer-hill, where Esquire(1) Godhiko has committed suicide."

"Even so, Lord," replied those monks unto the Lord. And so the Lord with a great number of monks arrived at Black Rock upon Mount Seer-hill. And the Lord saw from afar St. Godhiko lying on his bed, with his shoulder turned over.

At the same time a pillar of smoke or of darkness went east and west, north and south, upward, downward and across. Then the Lord askt the monks: "Brethren, do you not see that pillar of smoke or of darkness going in all directions?"

(1) Observe that the sacred writer calls Godhiko Saint (*āyasmā*), but Gotamo calls him gentleman or esquire (*kula-putto*.)

“Yes, Lord.”

“That, O monks, is Māro the Evil One, searching for the consciousness of Esquire Godhiko, thinking that his consciousness is establisht. But Esquire Godhiko, brethren, has past into Nirvāna, with no consciousness establisht.”

Then Māro the Evil One took the form of a lute-playing youth, approacht the Lord and uttered this stanza :—

“Above, below, and everywhere,
In all directions,
I seek and do not find.
Whither hath Godhiko gone ?”

[Buddha replies :]

“That sage endowed with wisdom,
Meditative, ever with rapture glad,
Devoted thereunto by day and night,
Cared not for life.

“Death’s army he hath conquered,
And cometh not to rebirths any more ;
O’ercoming Thirst and the root thereof,
Godhiko hath unto Nirvāna past.”

[Epilog].

O’erwhelmed with grief, he let his lute-
string fall ;
The melancholy goblin disappeared.

Warren translated this story from the Dhammapada Commentary, which follows the Saṃyutta Nikāyo pretty closely, but ends with the statement that Buddha spoke, on this occasion, the 57th stanza of the Hymns:—

**The Tempter findeth not the way of those
Endowed with virtue, living earnestly,
Emancipated by thoro knowledge.**

Other suicides are reported to Buddha by Ānando, in Classified Collection LIV. 9. They are evidently the same as those which called forth the Third Pārājika : Buddha has been discoursing on the impurity of the body, and many monks commit suicide.

At XXXV. 87, Channo commits suicide during illness, in spite of the remonstrances of Sāriputto and Cundo the Great. Buddha says he was justified : **Any one, O Sāriputto, who lays down this body and takes another one, I call blame-worthy. But not such was the monk Channo. Brother Channo committed suicide without blame. Thus must you maintain, Sāriputto.**

The Third Pārājika (i. e. the third out of Four Unpardonable Offenses, which involve excommunication) is to encourage another to commit suicide, or to assist him thereto. The substance of this Pārājika is now accessible in English (Edward P. Buffet, in the *American Law Review*, 1908). The example of Godhiko and the other cases cited prove that Gotamo condoned suicide when committed

from a right motive, just as the Romans did; as the Old Testament tacitly does the suicide of Saul; and as certain Church Fathers permit it to women in defense of their chastity. But to do it in mere mental depression, especially when urged from without, is impermissible. Here, as so often, the Christ and the Buddha see eye to eye: the physical life is not an end in itself, and not worth preserving when hostile to the spiritual. But the self-sacrifice of one's life is a solemn and consecrated act, only to be undertaken from profound inward conviction that no good end can any longer be subserved by retaining it, or that one's duty to the race requires it. Is not the military patriot, as typified in Arnold of Sempach, just as much a suicide as Godhiko?

The Jains too hedged about their permitted religious suicide with prohibitive requirements, which would have restricted it to a few ascetic aristocrats. But Hindū usage was freer, and the Buddhist (probably) who mounted his self-made pyre at Athens in the reign of Augustus, was a typical example of the national stoicism, and not of any Buddhist practise. If Strabo correctly records the reason for this man's suicide, viz., the dread lest his thus far successful life might be followed by adversity, the self-immolator certainly was acting against the Master's approval. Even euthanasia for mutilated persons is forbidden at the end of the Third Pārājika.

It is fair to add that Anesaki objects to this present Parallel, on the ground that it is derogatory

to the self-sacrifice of Christ. But it seems to me that that sacrifice is inseparable from the idea of Religious Suicide. It was certainly so in the Buddhist development of the doctrine. In the earlier texts, it is Buddha's Renunciation and Enlightenment that are magnified ; but the former was common to all ascetics, and the latter was rapture rather than pain. But in the later texts, like the *Way to Supernal Knowledge*, the *Jātaka Commentary* and the *Mahāyāna* patristics, we find the doctrine of a sacrificial Incarnation : in bygone lives the Indian Messiah had conceived the Great Compassion and resolved to save the world. But there are germs of the doctrine in the Birth-Stories. In *Jātaka* 316, the immortal Hare, to feed a starving brahmin, leaps on burning coals. But the brahmin is Sakko in disguise, the fire is an illusion produced by him, and the would-be suicide is unharmed. The act of heroism shall be known thruout the Eon, says Sakko, and he daubs the sign of the Hare upon the moon. The legend grew and grew, until, in the *Gospel Lotus*, we read :

"In the whole universe there is not a single spot so small as a mustard-seed where he has not surrendered his body for the sake of creatures."(2)
(S. B. E. XXI, p. 251.)

(2) Observe that no heavy type is used in this quotation. The *Gospel Lotus* is a *Mahāyāna* work, possibly of post-Christian date, and is no part of the genuine *Tripitaka*. Japanese Buddhism, however, has exalted it into a Bible, known as *Hokekyō*. In *Nepāl* too it is one of *Nine Dharmas*.

In chapter 22 of the Lotus (a later addition to the genuine text, which consisted of chapters 1-20 and 27) a certain Bodhisat (i. e. a saint in training for a Buddha) *burns his body* in order to pay worship to the Tathāgato and the Gospel Lotus. The flames illuminate eighty worlds, and eighty Buddhas applaud the act: no worship, say they, can equal the sacrifice of one's own body: it is nobler than the renunciation of royalty, children and wife. (*Ibid.* pp. 379, 380).

It is quite likely that here we have *Christian influence upon later Buddhism*. The Rev. Arthur Lloyd, president of the Asiatic Society of Japan, even suggests that the Gospel Lotus (*Saddharma Pundarika*) might be the identical work known as *Gospel* to the founder of Manicheism (Vol. 1, p. 138). (3) But Anesaki considers the Mahāyāna pre-Christian. I believe myself that Buddhism and

(3) Professor Lloyd remarks: "Edmunds and Anesaki, in their *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, think that the man [mentioned on p. 119 of Vol. 1] cannot have been a Buddhist, because Buddhism forbids suicide." The opinion was not Anesaki's, but mine, and even in the Tōkyō edition (pp. 26 and 27) I express a doubt by reason of the known cases of Buddhist suicide. The present paragraphs on the Gospel Lotus are due to the stimulating lectures of Lloyd, delivered in Tōkyō in November and December, 1907, and reported in *The Japan Times*. I agree with him that the ascetic in question was probably a Buddhist. It is unlikely that a Brahmin or a Jain would have left India. If the man was a Buddhist, the practise of Religious Suicide was pre-Christian among votaries of that faith, and probably also the Mahāyāna laudation thereof.

Christianity, whether historically connected or not, are two parts of one great spiritual movement—one cosmic upheaval of the human soul, which burst open a crater in India five hundred years before Christ and a second and greater one in Palestine at the Christian Advent. Whether the lava which the twain ejected ever met in early times or not is of little moment : it came from the same fount of fire. And now, over the whole planet, the two have assuredly met, and the shaping of the religion of the future lies largely in their hands.

Part IV.

THE LORD.

52. THE SAVIOR IS UNIQUE.

John I. 14 and 18.

The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the *only begotten* from the Father), full of grace and truth.....No man hath seen God at any time; the *only begotten* Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.

Hebrews IX. 26.

Now once at the end of the ages hath he been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

Numerical Collection I. 15.(1)

Translated in substance by Oldenberg : *Buddha*, English translation, 1882, p. 328. Cf. Long Collection, Dialog 28;(2) Middling Collection, Dialog 115, Chinese 181.

It is unlikely and impossible, O monks, for two Arahats who are perfect Buddhas to arise simultaneously in the same world-system: this is not likely. But it is likely, O monks, for one Arahāt who is a perfect Buddha to arise in one world-system: this is quite likely.

A similar statement is made of an emperor (3) and then it is denied that a woman can be a Buddha, an emperor, a Sakko, a Māro, or a Brahmā.

Numerical Collection IV. 36. (S. T. in Saṃyukta.)

Partly translated by H. Kern : *Manual of Buddhism* :
Leipzig, 1896, p. 64.

Once the Lord had entered upon the main road between High-town and White-town. Now Doṇo the Brahmin entered it likewise. And he saw the wheels on the Lord's feet, with their thousand spokes, their tires and naves, and

(1) In the Chinese Ekottara there is no text exactly agreeing with this, but we have in three passages mention of one Tathāgato appearing in the world. (A. M.)

(2) With this agrees in substance Dīrgha, No. 18. There we read : **The Lord is incomparable in his wisdom, incomparable in his miraculous powers; all the ascetics and priests in the world cannot excel the Tathāgato [in these respects].** (A. M.)

(3) I was interested to learn lately from the lips of a Hindū that the ancient title *cakkavatti* is applied today to the Queen of England as Empress of India. (Note of 1899.)

all their parts complete. Having seen them, he thought to himself: "Wonderful and marvelous indeed! These cannot be the feet of a human being."

Then the Lord, stepping aside from the road, sat at the root of a tree in the posture of meditation, holding his body erect, looking straight before him, and collecting his mind. And *Dono* the Brahmin, following the Lord's feet, saw him sitting at a tree-root with serene and pleasing looks, his faculties and mind at peace, with the highest control and calm, in the attainment [of trance], subdued and guarded. Upon seeing the hero, [literally, *the elephant*,] with his faculties at peace, he approacht the Lord and said:

"Are you not an angel?"

"No, Brahmin; I am not an angel."

"Are you not a celestial genius?"

"No, Brahmin; I am not."

"Are you not a goblin?"

"No, Brahmin; I am not a goblin."

"Are you not a man?"

"No, Brahmin; I AM NOT A MAN."

"If you are none of these, what are you, then?"

"Brahmin, those Depravities (*āsavā*) wherefrom as an angel I should consider myself undelivered, are for me renounced, uprooted, dug

out, annihilated, unable to rise again in the future. And those depravities wherefrom as a genie, a goblin or a man I should consider myself undelivered, are likewise renounced and uprooted. Monks,⁽⁴⁾ even as a blue lotus, a water-rose or a white lotus is born in the water, grows up in the water, and stands lifted above it by the water undefiled, even so, Brahmin, am I born in the world, grown up in the world and I abide, overcoming the world, by the world undefiled. O, Brahmin, you must call me a Buddha."

In the Chinese Ekottara, the same thing is told of Maudgalyāyana, and in N. C. No. 546, which agrees perfectly with the version here quoted, except the place (at Çāla-village in Koçālā).

In a chapter of the later Chinese Dharmapada version corresponding to XXII. of the Pāli we find a passage similar to these stanzas (N. C. No. 1439):

One who overcomes himself is a hero,
Endowed with all good conduct:
He is neither devo nor gandharva,
Nor Māro nor Brahmā.

Further on the exercise of self-control is recommended.

We have in the Chinese three versions of the text corresponding to the Pāli Anguttara IV. 36.

(4) Evidently a slip of the scribes for O Brahmin. The passage occurs in *Samyutta* XXII. 94, translated below, Parallel 72.

Two are found in the *Brāhmaṇa-samyukta* of the *Samyukta-āgama* and one in the sixth division (38th Chapter of Nanjio's Catalog) in the *Ekottara*. The three agree with the Pāli in substance. The *Samyukta* versions give the name of the Brahmin (*Dono* in Pāli) as *Dhama* or *Smoke*, and give ¶ 3 of the Pāli in verse after the stanzas of ¶ 4 (omitted in the translation above).

The *Ekottara* versions give no name of the Brahmin and explain what are the six senses and how these are annihilated in Buddha. This part stands for ¶ 3 and 4 of the Pāli. (A. M.)

Note on the Grotesque in Buddhism.

The comparison of Buddha to an elephant(5) excites in some a smile. But the elephant is just as gentle as the lamb and far more majestic, yet we are not shocked by the Apocalyptic Lamb upon the throne of the Godhead. I am told that certain items in the Buddhist Scriptures are trivial or grotesque. Are the Gospels free from the like? Joseph's perplexity at the pregnancy of Mary, till a dream assures him it is supernatural; the food and raiment of the Baptist; the fantastic scenes of the Temptation; the baptismal Dove; the transmuted water; the extemporized creation of fishes; the devils who know the Son of God; the clay and the spittle; the Gadarene swine (so humorously de-

(5) Cf. *Lalita Vistara* Chap. V., and Windisch at the XII. Congress of Orientalists. (A. M.)

picted by Carlyle); the coin in the fish's mouth ; the Matthean parallel between Jonah's three nights and Christ's ; the rivers that flow from a believer's belly ; the blasted fig-tree ; the Matthean mistake about the two asses ; the whipping of the hucksters ; the Matthean apparitions of the corpses ; the hand in the resurrected side ; the risen Lord eating broiled fish ; the vision of the sheet-full of animals ; the Elect collected by a trumpet ; the adulterers cast into a bed : are not all these New Testament incidents and saws grotesque except to us who are powerfully psychologized by the Christian ideals ? No philosopher will make objection for a moment to the Buddhist books on the score of the grotesque.

53. I HAVE OVERCOME THE WORLD.

John XVI. 33.

Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.

1 John V. 4, 5.

Whatsoever is begotten of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that hath overcome the world, [even] our faith. And who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?

Numerical Collection IV. 36. (S. P. in *Samyukta*.) (1)
(Cf. also Classified Collection XXII. 94, below translated in Parallel No. 72.)

I am born in the world, grown up in the world, and having overcome the world, I abide by the same undefiled. [Repeated from above.]

This Parallel is verbal: 'εγω νενικηκα τον κοσμον = [aham] *lokam abhibhuyya*. The *aham* is understood in the *viharāmi*, I abide. *Abhibhuyya* is the verbal noun, which is so much used in Pāli. Considering this idiom, it is no strain of grammar to

(1) Unfortunately the words for *lokam abhibhuyya* are wanting in both versions of the *Samyukta*. Instead of them both have six or seven lines, the last of which read: The end of birth and death is reacht [by me.] (A. M.)

translate *lokam abhibhuyya viharāmi*: I have overcome the world and abide, &c. La Vallée Poussin makes a great deal of the fact that *abhibhuyya* means also having transcended; but is not passing beyond a kind of conquest? And then we must remember that there may be some lost medium between the Pāli and the Greek, such as Pahlavi or Aramaic.

54. THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD.

John VIII. 12.

Jesus spake unto them, saying, I am the light of the world.

John IX. 5, 6.

When I am in the world, I am the light of the world. When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed his EYES with the clay.

Classified Collection LVI. 38. (C. T. in Chinese.)

Monks, so long as moon and sun arise not in the world, so long is there no appearance of great glory, of great splendor. Then is there gloom and darkness dense: night and day are known not, nor months and fortnights, nor seasons of the year. But when, O monks, the moon and sun arise in the world, then is there appearance of great glory, of great splendor: gloom and dense darkness are no more; then night and day are known, and months and fortnights and seasons of the year.

Even so, monks, so long as there arises no Tathāgato, a Holy One, a perfect Buddha, so long is there no appearance of great glory, of great splendor. Then is there gloom and darkness dense: there is no proclamation of the Four Noble Truths, no preaching thereof, no publication, no establishment, no exposition, analysis, elucidation. But when, O monks, a Tathāgato, a Holy One, a perfect Buddha ariseth in the world, then is there appearance of great glory and of splendor great: gloom and dense darkness are no more; then is there proclamation of the Four Noble Truths; there is preaching thereof, publication, establishment, exposition, analysis, elucidation.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. 2.)

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E.,
Vol. XI, pp. 119, 122, 127.)

Too soon will the Lord enter Nirvāṇa!
Too soon will the Auspicious One enter Nir-

vāna ! Too soon will the Light of the World
[literally, *Eye in the World*] vanish away !

55. KING, REDEEMER
AND CONQUEROR OF THE DEVIL.

John XVIII. 37.

Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.

Mark X. 45.

For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

John XII. 31.

Now is the judgment of this world : now shall the prince of this world be cast out.

Sela-Sutta.

(Double text: Collection of Suttas and Middling Collection,
Dialog 92). (1)

**I am a King, O Selo !
An incomparable King of religion : (2)
By religion I set rolling a wheel,
An irresistible wheel.**

* * * *

**What ought to be supremely known I
know,
What ought to be perfected I perfect,
What ought to be renounced I renounce :
Therefore, O Brahmin ! am I Buddha.**

**Discipline thy doubt of me,
Surrender thyself, O Brahmin !
Hard to obtain is the appearing
Of fully Enlightened Ones repeatedly.**

(1) This sutta is found neither in the Chinese *Madhyama* nor in any other Chinese text, but the persons Selo and Keniyo are found in a Sūtra of the *Ekottara*. This sūtra agrees in substance with the *Digha*, No. 27, *Aggañña*, which is also found in No. 5 of the Chinese.

The utterance of Buddha that he is a religious King is found in two places of the Chinese *Ekottara*.

(2) Or Truth (as in John): *Dhammo*, which we generally translate Doctrine.

He who indeed is *hard in the world to obtain,*

In manifestation repeatedly,

That *fully Enlightened One*, O Brahmin,
am I—(3)

Physician incomparable.(4)

Godlike, beyond measure,

A crusher of the Devil's army,

Having subjugated all enemies,

I rejoice as one who hath nowhere a fear.

* * * *

Thou art Buddha, thou art the Master,

Thou art the Sage who overcomest the
Devil,

Thou hast cast off all inclinations;

And having crost over thyself, hast ferried
this [human] race across.

(3) Numerical Collection I. 13.

(4) Itivuttaka 100.

56. LION OF HIS RACE.

Revelation V. 5.

Weep not: behold the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath overcome, to open the book and the seven seals thereof.

Numerical Collection V. 99.(1)

"Lion," O monks: this is the appellation of the Tathāgato, the Holy One, the fully Enlightened One. Because, monks, when the Tathāgato proclaims the Doctrine to a company he does so with a lion-voice. If he proclaim it unto monks or nuns, he proclaims it comprehensively, with nothing omitted; and likewise unto lay-disciples, whether men or women. And if, monks, the Tathāgato proclaim the Doctrine to the common people even, who merely care for food and maintenance and wealth, he proclaims it comprehensively, with naught omitted. What is the reason? The Tathāgato, monks, is weighty in religion, an authority in religion.(2)

(1) We have no passage wholly agreeing with the Pali here. In the third edition I brought together Chinese parallels from three different texts. For the last sentence compare my book on Buddhism, p. 80. (A M.)

(2) Cf. Mark i. 22. And they were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as having authority, and not as the scribes.

**57. THE MASTER REMEMBERS A
PRE-EXISTENT STATE.**

John XVII. 5.

**And now, O Father, glorify thou me with
thine own self with the glory which I had with
thee before the world was.**

Logia-Book, 22. (S. P., N. C. 664.)(1)

**This was spoken by the Lord, spoken by
the Arahāt and heard by me.**

**O monks, be not afraid of good works :
such is the name for happiness, for what is
wisht, desired, dear and delightful, namely
good works. And for a long time have I
known, monks, the wisht-for, desired, dear,
delightful and severally enjoyed results of
good works done for a long time. Having
practised Benevolence for seven years, I did not
return to this world during seven eons of con-
summation and restoration. Yea, monks, at
the consummation of an eon I was an Angel
of Splendor, and at the restoration I rose again
in the empty palace of the Brahmās. Yea,
then, O monks, I was a Brahmā—the Great
Brahmā, conquering, unconquered, allseeing,**

**(1) The Chinese Itivuttaka has not this sutta. The S. P.
is taken from an apocryph. Preceding this passage we find
two stanzas very similar to those of the Pali Itivuttaka. (A. M.)**

controlling. And thirty-six times, O monks, was I Sakko, the lord of the angels; many hundreds of times I was a king, a righteous emperor, a king of righteousness,⁽²⁾ victorious in the four quarters, securely established in my country and possessor of the seven treasures. Now what was the doctrine of that region and kingdom? This is what I thought of it, O monks: "What deed of mine is this the fruit of? Of what deed is this the result, whereby now I am thus magical and mighty?" This is what I thought of it, O monks: "This is the fruit of three deeds of mine, of three deeds the result, whereby now I am thus magical and mighty, to wit: alms, control and abstinence."

[The substance of this Sutta is then put into two stanzas.]

Exactly this is the meaning of what the Lord said, and thus it was heard by me.

Platonism, Philonism and Mazdeism, with its unincarnate pre-existence, are doubtless nearer to the thought of John's Gospel than the Buddhist doctrine; but still there is a parallel.

(2) Or, King by right, *dharmiko dharmarāja*, the Epic title of a Hindū suzerain.

**58. THE MASTER KNOWS GOD
AND HIS KINGDOM.**

John VI. 46.

**Not that any man hath seen the Father,
save he which is from God, he hath seen the
Father.**

John VII. 29.

**I know him ; because I am from him, and
he sent me.**

John VIII. 42 ; 55.

**Jesus said unto them, If God were your
Father, ye would love me : for I came forth
and am come from God : for neither have I
come of myself, but he sent me.....And ye
have not known him : but I know him ; and if
I should say, I know him not, I shall be like
unto you, a liar : but I know him and keep his
word.**

Long Collection, Dialog 13. (C. T. 26.)

*Translated in S. B. E., XI and in Sacred Books of the
Buddhists, Vol. 2, each time by Rhys Davids : 1881 and 1899.*

**That man, O Vāsettho, born and brought
up at Manasākata, might hesitate or falter
when askt the way thereto. But not so does**

the Tathāgato hesitate or falter when askt of the kingdom of God (world of Brahmā) or the path that goeth thereto. For I, O Vāsetṭho, know both God and the kingdom of God and the path that goeth thereto; I know it even as one⁽¹⁾ who hath entered the kingdom of God and been born there.

Estlin Carpenter objects to kingdom of God as a translation of *Brahmaloko*, urging that this is a localized heaven, while the Christian kingdom is spiritual. But Jesus, in the saying about cutting off the offending member, most certainly uses the phrase kingdom of God to mean the spiritual world.

(1) The Siam text has even as Brahma (i. e., God or archangel). Tho the Buddhists held that the supreme Godhead was an office, not a person, and that the Buddha himself had held that office in a past eternity (see above), yet they ascribed to the chief Brahmā all the Christian titles of the Deity. (Long Collection, Dialogs 1 and 11.)

59. THE MASTER HEARS SUPERNAL VOICES.

Mark I. 11.

A voice came out of the heavens: Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.

According to Mark, it would appear that this voice was heard by Jesus only. Matthew's Gospel, by altering the verb from the second person to the third, conveys the idea that it was heard by the spectators, as in John XII. 29.

Long Collection, Dialog 14. (C. T. 1.)

Translated by Albert J. Edmunds: *Marvelous Birth of the Buddhas*: Philadelphia, 1899, p. 5; second edition, 1903, pp. 5 and 12.

[In answer to the question as to how Buddha gains his knowledge of former existences.]

Monks, this quality is well acquired only by a Tathāgato, whereby he remembers the by-gone Buddhas, *and spiritual beings (devatā) have also told him.*

Book of Apparitions. (C. T. Devatā Samyutta.)

That angel (or, spirit), standing on one side, ejaculated this stanza before the Lord.

[Frequent formula in the Book of Apparitions.]

Logia-Book 82. (C. T., N. C. 714.)

Monks, these three angel-voices go forth among the angels from time to time.

They are three exclamations of angelic encouragement: (1) When an asectic renounces the world; (2) when he has attained the sevenfold wisdom; (3) when he has destroyed the Depravities.

The passage on Psychical Powers (Parallel 38) affirms that hearing the voices of angels and of distant men is one of the gifts of the Master. It is well known that religious geniuses, like Socrates, Fox, Swedenborg, Woolman and Shillitoe, have always been accustomed to hear voices that guide, warn or encourage them. Some alienists maintain that this is a symptom of insanity. But is not insanity a perversion of real powers? And whereas the voices of genius mean something, those of the madman mean nothing. Take, for example, the voice which told Fox that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify a man to be a minister of Christ. It has lately been pointed out (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, article on Saltmarsh) that the words heard by Fox occur almost verbatim in a work by Saltmarsh, published in 1646, the very year in which Fox heard the voice. The writer in the Dictionary says that Saltmarsh anticipated Fox, but he means as to date of publication. Now what Fox heard may have come direct from

the mind of his contemporary fellow-mystic which would be sending forth vibrations to impinge upon congenial spirits. In my unpublisht review of the great work of Frederic Myers, I have pointed out another coincidence of this kind.

60. THE MARKS OF THE LORD.

Galatians VI. 17.

From henceforth let no man trouble me :
for I bear branded on my body the marks of
Jesus.

Revelation I. 14-16.

His head and his hair were white as white
wool, [white] as snow ; and his eyes were as
a flame of fire ; and his feet like unto burnisht

brass, as if it had been refined in a furnace ; and his voice as the voice of many waters. And he had in his right hand seven stars : and out of his mouth proceeded a sharp two-edged sword : and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

Long Collection, Dialog 14.

[The brahmins address the father of a former Buddha.]

Your Majesty, this prince is born with wheels on the soles of his feet, having a thousand spokes, with tires and naves and all their parts complete. And this is for him one of the marks of a Great Soul.....And he has a beautiful complexion, with a skin like gold.....A divine voice, speaking as a nightingale, and wondrous dark-blue eyes.....And he is born with a soft tuft, as of wool, between his eyebrows.

Moreover, your majesty, the prince's head is turban-like. All these are for him the marks of a Great Soul.

There are in all thirty-two of these marks, some of them ludicrous in our eyes. Rhys Davids considers that a few may have been peculiarities of Gotamo's, while others are of a mystical nature, more comparable to the glorified appearance of the Apocalyptic Lord.

The *stigmata* of Paul are generally supposed to be the marks of Christ's wounds which came out on Paul's body, as they did upon the Lord's resurrection-body at his second appearance to Thomas. (John XX. 27.) These stigmata, as is well known, were manifested in Francis of Assisi—a fact which was scouted by Protestants until the Society for Psychical Research proved the reality of similar phenomena. Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is a romance founded on this obscure effect of the mind upon the body. In the Buddhist list the mark that is most strikingly of this character is the wheels on the Lord's feet, symbolical of empire. In his case it was spiritual empire, as the brahmins predicted at his birth, provided he should become an ascetic. We must suppose the marks imprest by his own sub-consciousness of royalty, according to the Buddhist doctrine of self-shapen destiny. As Swedenborg says: **All things of the thought and will are inscribed on the brain, for their beginnings are there; so also they are inscribed on the whole body.** (*Heaven and Hell*, 463, where the seer describes a kind of palmistry whereby the angels read the character of newly arrived spirits.) (1)

Rendel Harris, in his *Guiding Hand of God* (London, 1905) quotes a hymn by Neale, based upon one by Stephen of Saba, which says :

“Hath He marks to lead me to Him
If He be my guide ?”

(1) The writings of Swedenborg are precisely such as would have been regarded by the ancients as oracles or Scripture. Indeed one section of his followers to-day have raised them to that rank.

61. THE LORD IS IDEAL HUMANITY.

Mark XIV. 61, 62.

Again the high priest askt him, and saith unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? And Jesus said, I am : and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.

Long Collection, Dialog 14.

Translated by Edmunds, 1899, p. 11.

This prince, your majesty, is possest of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man; and unto any great man possest thereof there are only two destinies: If he adopt the domestic life, he will be a universal King, righteous, a King of righteousness, victorious in the four quarters, securely establisht in his country and possest of the seven gems: viz., the wheel [of empire], etc.....But if, on the other hand, he go forth from domestic life, he will be a Holy One, a fully Enlightened One, uncovering in the world that which is hidden.

62. NEVER MAN SO SPAKE.

John VII. 46.

**The officers answered, Never man so
spake.**

Collection of Discourses, 955: Book of Eights, 16.

(C. P., Nanjio 674, No. 14.)

Never before was seen by me
 (thus spake St. Sāriputto)
 Nor heard by any one
 A Master so sweetly speaking,
 A teacher come from the Heaven of
 Content.

63. THE CHRIST REMAINS [ON EARTH]
FOR THE EON.

John XII. 34.

The multitude therefore answered him,
We have heard out of the Law, that the Christ
abideth forever [*eis ton aion, for the eon.*]

Enunciations VI. 1, and Long Collection, Dialog 16.
(C. T. 2.)

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E.,
Vol. XI, p. 40).

Ānando, any one who has practist the
four principles of psychical power—developt
them, made them active and practical, pursued
them, accumulated and striven to the height
thereof—can, if he so should wish, remain [on
earth] for the eon or the rest of the eon.

Now, Ānando, the Tathāgato has practist
and perfected these; and if he so should wish,
the Tathāgato could remain [on earth] *for
the eon.*

The words in italics agree with those in the
Greek of John, except the mood and tense of the
verb. Rendel Harris has pointed out to me that
the tense of *μυνη* is ambiguous, being either present
or future. This is because the oldest manuscripts
are without accents. *Tathāgato* is a religious title

equivalent to Christ. Its exact meaning is still debated, but its analogy to *Sugato* is obvious, and Rhys Davids' translation of it as *Truth-winner* is probably as near the mark as we shall ever get.

As our text occurs also in the Sanskrit of the Divyāvadāna (which has an independent transmission) its antiquity is certain. Moreover, the Book of the Great Decease and that of Enunciations are two of the oldest in the Pāli, Enunciations being also one of the Nine Divisions of a lost arrangement of the Canon.

The ascription of the saying in John to the multitude shows it to have been a current belief at the time of Christ. It is not a New Testament doctrine, tho the physical Second Coming has been assimilated to it. Commentators have been at a loss to identify the Old Testament passage (out of the Law) which is supposed to be quoted. The *Twentieth Century New Testament* proposes the Aramaic version of Isaiah IX. 7 as the source. The learned August Wünsche, in his work on the Gospels and the Talmud, says that the source is unknown. Be that as it may, we have here a verbal Pāli parallel :

ὁ Χριστός μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα = *Tathāgato kappam tittheyya.*

It is true, as Estlin Carpenter points out, that at the time of Christ αἰώνιος had come to mean everlasting ; but had it entirely lost its original meaning? And does not the Platonizing Gospel of John require this meaning, with the conception of the Great Year behind it?

64. THE MASTER CAN RENOUNCE OR
PROLONG HIS LIFE.⁽¹⁾

John X. 17, 18.

Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment received I from my Father.

Book of the Great Decease, Chap. 3. (C. T. as above.)

Now not long after St. Ānando had gone, Māro the Evil One approacht the Lord, and standing beside him, addrest him thus :

“ O Master, let the Lord now pass into Nirvāna,⁽²⁾ let the Auspicious One pass into Nirvāna : now, O Master, is the time for the Lord to pass thereto ; and moreover this word was spoken by the Lord : ‘ O Evil One, I shall not pass into Nirvāna till my monks and nuns, my laymen and laywomen become wise and trained disciples, apt and learned, reciters of the Doctrine, walking in the Doctrine and the precepts, walking consistently, living out the

(1) This section must be read with No. 63, which it immediately follows in the Pāli.

(2) *Parinibbātu*, literally, become extinct. Like other Asiatics, the Hindus use different verbs “to die,” according to the rank of the departed. Thus, an animal is *dead*, a man has *finisht his time*, while a saint has *past into Nirvāna*. For other uses of the same verb, see Parallel 35, note 9, and Parallel 97.

precepts : until they have graspt the teaching for themselves and shall announce and proclaim it, publish, establish and reveal, explain in detail and interpret, so that when a different system shall arise they may thoroly refute it by the Doctrine and proclaim the Doctrine with its miracles'.....

"And now, Master, is the Lord's religion spiritually strong, thriving, widespread, popular, ubiquitous,—in a word, made thoroly public among men. O Master, let the Lord now pass into Nirvāna, let the Auspicious One pass into Nirvāna; now, O Master, is the time for the Lord to pass thereto."

When he had thus spoken, the Lord said unto Māro the Evil One: "O Evil One, be content; the Tathāgato's passage into Nirvāna will not be long: at the end of three months from now will the Tathāgato pass thereinto."

Then the Lord, at the Cāpāla shrine, mindful and conscious, *laid down his term of life*. And when his term of life was laid down by the Lord, there was a great earthquake, terrific and appalling, and the thunder(3) burst.

When the Lord saw the event, he uttered upon that occasion the following Enunciation:

His principle of being, great and small,
His term of life, the Sage laid down;
Steadfast, with inward joy, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his own life-principle.

(3) Literally, the divine drums.

**65. CHRISTOPHANY: HE WHO SEES
THE TRUTH SEES THE LORD.**

John XIV. 6; 9; 18-21.

Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father, but by me.....

Jesus saith unto him, Have I been(1) so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou, Shew us the Father?.....

I will not leave you orphans: I come unto you. Yet a little while, and the world beholdeth me no more; but ye behold me: because I live, ye shall live also. In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you. He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself unto him [i.e., appear before him.]

Logia Book 92. (S. P., in Ekottara.)

Partly translated into French by the translator of Minayeff: *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*: Paris, 1894, p. 218.

**O monks, even if a monk should gather
up the folds of his robe and follow behind me,**

(1) In the first edition of the King James version (London, 1611) this word at this point is spelt bin, as it is still pronounced in the United States.

treading in my footsteps, yet if he be covetous, on lusts intent, bad-hearted, corrupt in his mind's aspiration, heedless, mindless, ill-conducted, with heart confused and unripe faculties, then is he far from me, and I from him. And why? Because, O monks, that monk sees not the Doctrine; and he who sees not the Doctrine sees not me. But if that monk should dwell an hundred leagues away, O monks, and be not covetous, nor intent on lusts, not bad-hearted nor corrupt in his mind's aspiration, but heedful, mindful, well-conducted, with concentrated heart and faculties restrained, then is he near to me, and I to him. And why? Because, O monks, that monk sees the Doctrine; and HE WHO SEES THE DOCTRINE SEES ME.

The word Doctrine is the ubiquitous Dhammo, Sanskrit Dharma; and can be equally translated Truth or Religion.

Collection of Suttas, Stanzas 1139-1144.

Translated by Fausböll: S. B. E. X., part 2, p. 201.

From Him I am never absent,
O Brahmin, for a moment—
[Never absent] from Gotamo, the great of
intellect,
From Gotamo, in wisdom great.

'Twas he who taught me the Doctrine
Of instantaneous, immediate peace,
And destruction of Thirst,—
Whose likeness is nowhere.

Him do I see in my mind, as with an eye,
Vigilant, O Brahmin, night and day :
Worshipping I pass the night ;
Therefore, I ween, am I never absent.

Faith and joy, mind and memory,
Bend me unto Gotamo's religion.
What way soever goeth the Great
Intellect,
That way, and that only, am I bent.

Of me, who am aged and tottering,
The body therefore farèth not thither,
But in imagination I go ever ;
For, O Brahmin ! my mind is yoked with
him.

Shivering in the mire,
From island unto island did I leap,
Until I saw the fully Enlightened,
The Flood-croft, the Unsullied.

The commentary, says Fausböll, here states that Gotamo, knowing from afar the mental state of this monk and his companion, sent forth a golden light, and stood before them in apparition. A similar Christophany is related in the Introductory Story to Jātaka No. 4. But in Jātaka No. 2, per-

sonal devotion to the Master is placed on a lower level than solitary thought. And this indeed is one of the great differences between Buddhism and Christianity. In the Canonical texts here translated we have, as in the Johannine Gospel, the philosophic basis for visions of the Master.

66. SAVING FAITH IN THE LORD.

John XI. 26.

Whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die.

Luke XXIII. 42, 43.

Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

Middling Collection, Dialog 22. (C. T. 200.)

Partly translated by Copleston: *Buddhism*, 1892, p. 30.

Thus, O monks, is the Doctrine well taught by me—plain, patent, clear, and with the old cloth cut away.⁽¹⁾ Seeing, O monks, that the Doctrine is thus well taught by me—plain, patent, clear, and with the old cloth cut away,—all those who have merely faith and love toward me are sure of Paradise hereafter.

Numerical Collection X. 64.

Monks, those who believe in me are all assured of final salvation (literally, *have entered the Stream*).

(1) Cf. Mark II. 21: No man seweth a piece of undrest cloth on an old garment.

**67. DAMNATORY UNBELIEF IN
THE LORD.**

John III. 36.

He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life ; but he that obeyeth [or, believeth] not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.

Aristion's Appendix (Mark XVI. 16).

He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.

Matthew X. 33.

Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

Mark VIII. 38.

Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

Middling Collection, Dialog 12.

(C. P. in Ekottara(1) and Saṃyukta.)

Sāriputto, these are the Tathāgato's ten Tathāgato-powers, wherewith endowed the Tathāgato understands the extraordinary, utters his lion-voice among assemblies, and sets rolling the wheel divine. And any one, Sāriputto, who would say to me, with this my knowledge and perception : "The philosopher Gotamo has no qualities beyond the human and no distinction of complete noble knowledge and insight; the philosopher Gotamo preaches a doctrine thought out by reasoning, excogitated by his own wit"—if he repent not of this speech and thought, if he relinquish not this heresy, he is cast into hell as he deserves. Likewise, O Sāriputto, a monk who has attained to ethics, to trance, to intellection, and who would strive for knowledge in this present world,—I say, Sāriputto, that he, with all his attainments, if he repent not of this speech and thought, if he relinquish not this heresy, is cast into hell as he deserves.

(1) This sūtra in the Chinese Ekottara corresponds to the two paragraphs of the Pāli Majjhima No. 12, beginning with the words *dasa kho paṇ' imāni* and ending with *evam niraye* (ed. Trenckner pp. 69-71). The clause corresponding to *āsabhan-thānam patijānāti* is in the Saṃyukta, corresponding to the Saṃyutta XII. 21.

In the Chinese there seem some confusions to have crept in ; i.e., speaking against the Buddha is followed by the sentences following in the Pāli the part above translated. Buddha says that he is not disturbed by these scoldings, &c. Still the condemnation (the last five Chinese characters) is inserted among these words in an unconnected way. (A. M.)

68. THE LORD SAVES FROM HELL.

John III. 16, 17.

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world should be saved thru him.

Jude 23.

And some save, snatching them out of the fire; and on some have mercy with fear; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.

Long Collection, Dialog No. 12. (C. T., 29.)(1)

Translated in Rhys Davids's *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899.

Lohicco the Brahmin spake thus unto the Lord: "O Gotamo, just as if a man had caught another by the hair who was falling over the precipice of hell, lifted him up, and set him safe upon firm land; just even so have I, who was falling over the precipice of hell, been lifted up and set safe upon firm land by Gotamo."

(1) The Chinese does not preserve this speech of Lohicco, but makes him utter the usual formula of taking refuge in Buddha, Sangha and Dharma. (A. M.)

Fausböll and Rhys Davids translate *bho Gotama!* by venerable Gotamo. I have translated *bho*, when standing alone, as friend: one might have said "gentleman," in the low complimentary sense denounced by Tennyson. *Bho*, when coupled with a name, is a familiar address, equivalent to our calling a man Smith or Jones without the "Mister." The Buddhists resented this arrogant familiarity on the part of the Brahmins toward the Master, and nicknamed the entire priestly caste "Bho-callers," in consequence. Gotamo was the Master's family or clan-name, answering to our Smith, etc.; and rightly to appreciate the snobbery of the Brahmins, we must imagine them saying: "Washington, I want to talk to you."

Long Collection, Dialog 20. (C. T. 19.)

Also, Classified Collection, Book 1.

Translated by Gogerly in Grimblot's *Sept Suttas Palis*:

Paris, 1876, p. 290.

Those who take refuge with Buddha
 Will go not unto future state of woe:
 When the human body they abandon,
 They will perfect the angelic body.
 [Or, replenish the angel-host.]

In the uncanonical *Milindo* (p. 80) the King says: "You [Buddhists] say this: That if a man have done evil for a hundred years, and at the

moment of death cherish a single thought of Buddha, he is born among the angels. I don't believe this."

There is a story, in Jātaka 94, of the Bodhisat, who was then a naked ascetic, seeing a vision of hell when he was dying, becoming thereby immediately enlightened, and being born in the deva-heaven. In Jātaka 391, all ascetics are expelled by the King of Benāres, and the people become savage, and transmigrate into states of woe.

**69. THE LORD IS OUR SURETY
OR RANSOM.**

Mark X. 45.

The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

Logia Book I. 1-6.

I am your surety for non-return (i. e. I am your surety that you shall be saved from transmigration.)

Ransom and surety are closely allied terms. The word *surety* or *representative* (Pāli *pātibhogo*, Sanskrit *pratibhū*) also means bail. Manu VIII. 169 says: Three suffer for the sake of others: witnesses, a surety, and judges; but four enrich themselves [thru others]: a brahmin, a money-lender, a merchant and a king.

Cowper unconsciously uses the Buddhist term in his beautiful lines on the walk to Emmaus (*Conversation*, lines 505, 506 :)—

“It happened on a solemn eventide,
Soon after He that was our Surety died,” etc.

**70. THE SPIRITUAL LIFE IS QUICK-
ENED BY DEVOTION TO THE
MASTER AND HIS
DOCTRINE.**

John VI. 51; 62, 63.

I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever.....[What] then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: *the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life.*

John VIII. 31, 32.

If ye abide in my word, [then] are ye truly my disciples; and ye shall know the truth, and *the truth shall make you free.*

(Cf. also Matth. XI. 28, 29; XVIII. 20; Rev. III. 10.)

Classified Collection XI. 1. 3. (C. T. Saṃyukta VI. 1. 2; also in Ekottara.)

Of yore, O monks, there was a battle⁽¹⁾ raging between the angels and the devils. And Sakko, the leader of the angels, address

(1) This recalls the war in heaven of the Apocalypse. (XII. 7.)

thus the angels of the Thirty-three: "Comrades, if fear, dismay or horror should arise among angels who have gone to battle; look up to MY standard at that time. Unto you who look up to the standard by me, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away.

"If ye look not up to my standard, then look up to the standard of Pajāpati, the angel-king. Surely unto you who look up thereunto, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away. If to Pajāpati's banner ye look not up, then look up to Varuṇo's; if not to his, then to Īsāno's; for unto you who do so, your fear, dismay or horror shall be done away."

What is the reason of this? Because, O monks, the angel-leader, Sakko, is not devoid of passion, hate and folly, but is fearful, dismayed and daunted, and ready to flee. But I, monks, tell you this: If dismay or horror should arise among you who have gone [to meditate] in forest, by tree-root, or in wilderness, at that time think of ME. Say to yourselves: "The Lord indeed is the Holy One, the real Buddha, endowed with wisdom in conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, a matchless charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, Buddha the Lord!" For, monks, unto you who think of

me, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away.

If ye think not of me, then think of the Doctrine (or, the Truth), and say: "Well taught is the Doctrine by the Lord: 'tis present, immediate, inviting, leading onward, universal, intelligible, intelligent!" For unto you, monks, who think of the Doctrine, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away.

If ye think not of the Doctrine, then think upon the Order, and say: "Walking in goodness is the Lord's Order of disciples; walking uprightly, consistently, respectably is the Lord's Order of disciples: to wit, the four pairs of typical men, the eight individual types. The Lord's Order of disciples is worshipful, worthy of invitation and support, venerable, the matchless field of merit for the world!" Surely, monks, unto you who think upon the Order, whatever fear, dismay or horror there may be, shall be done away.

What is the reason? Because the Tathāgato, monks, the Holy One, the real Buddha, is free from passion, hate and folly; is fearless, undaunted, undismayed and fleeth not away.

In pointing out this passage to a Christian friend, he remarkt that the Buddhist sequence here was wrong, i. e., the reverse of the Christian. First,

70. THE SPIRITUAL LIFE IS QUICKENED, ETC.

said he, in temptation, comes the thought of the church ; then, when harder prest, of the teaching ; and at last, in deadliest peril, of the Christ who died for us. But Gotamo always put devotion to himself on a lower level than meditation upon infinite Truth.

**71. POWER OVER EVIL SPIRITS AND
ASSOCIATION WITH ANGELS.**

Mark III. 11.

The unclean spirits, whensoever they beheld him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God.

Matthew XXVI. 53.

Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels ?

John I. 51.

Verily verily, I say unto you, Ye shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.

Enunciations I. 7. (C. P. in Saṃyukta.)

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying at Pātali, at the Goat-beard Shrine, in the haunt of the Goblin Goat-beard. Now at that season the Lord was sitting thru-out the thick darkness of the night in the open air, and one by one an angel would touch him. Then the Goblin Goat-beard, being seized with fear and bristling terror, approacht the Lord, and when near him uttered thrice his cry of "Blighted! Affrighted!" and said in his fright: "This demon is thine, O Prophet!"

Then the Lord, when he had understood the fact, gave vent, upon that occasion, to the following Enunciation:

"When the Brahmin hath past beyond his own ideas (*dhammā*),

Then doth he overcome this demon and monster."

The Pāli *Samano*, in contradistinction to *Brāhmano*, is precisely the Old Testament prophet as against the priest. Buddha, however, persistently idealized the word **Brahmin**, as in our present stanzas, to mean **Arahat**. But in the familiar phrase, *samana-brāhmanā*, the word is used in its

usual sense, and I should translate : prophets and priests, or philosophers and brahmins. The *samanos* were the freethinking ascetics of the caste of the nobles, like Gotamo himself, who did not believe in priestly orthodoxy. They united the qualities of the Hebrew prophet and the Greek philosopher, having the fervor of the one and the dialectic of the other.

72. IN THE WORLD, BUT NOT OF
THE WORLD.

John XVII. 14-16.

I have given them thy word : and the world hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil [one]. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.

Classified Collection XXII. 94.

(S. P. Cf. Anesaki's Japanese book on Buddhism, pp. 42, 43;
212, 213.)

Monks, even as a blue lotus, a water-rose or a white lotus is born in the water, grows up in the water, and stands lifted above it, by the water undefiled: even so, monks, does the Tathāgato grow up in the world, and abide in the mastery of the world, by the world undefiled.

**73. ANTI-DOCETIC : THE LORD WAS A
REAL MAN.**

1 John IV. 2, 3.

Hereby know ye the Spirit of God : every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God : and every spirit which⁽¹⁾ confesseth not Jesus is not of God : and this is the [spirit] of the antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it cometh ; and now it is in the world already.

(1) Some ancient authorities read annulleth Jesus. (Note by the Revisers of 1881). The Vulgate has : every spirit that dissolveth Jesus, i.e., divides the man Jesus from the spiritual being, Christ (early Christian Unitarianism); or maintains that the Lord's body was apparitional and unreal (Docetism—a heresy common to both Christians and Buddhists). The words in the Athanasian Creed, “man of the substance of his mother, born in the world,” were expressly inserted to guard against this heresy.

Statement of Theses XVIII. 1.

(*Kāthavattu*, a book of the Third Pitaka, the *Abhidhammo*, aimed against heretics. It is a sort of Buddhist Irenæus or Hippolytus, and even according to the Ceylon Chronicles, was added to the Canon of the Elders last of all, at the Council of Patnā, about B. C. 250. Several sects, however, refused to canonize it.)

[You say] it ought not to be said that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men ?
Yes.

Are there not the Buddha's alms-rounds—the relic-shrines, the parks, lodges, villages, towns and cities, the kingdoms and countries ?
Yes.

Well, then, if the Buddha's alms-rounds be relic-shrines, parks, etc., therefore assuredly it ought to be said that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men. [Yet you still say] it ought not to be said that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men ?

Yes.

But was not the Lord born at Lumbini and enlightened at the root of the Bo-tree ? Was not the wheel of the Religion set rolling by the Lord at Benāres ; did he not lay down his term of life at the Cāpāla shrine, and pass into Nirvāṇa at Kusinārā ?

Yes.

Well, then, it assuredly follows that the Lord stood in the world of men. [You still say] it ought not to be said that the Lord stood in the world of men ?

Yes.

But was it not said by the Lord : "Monks, I once was staying at High-town, in Pleasant

Grove, at the foot of the great sāl-tree?" And again, "Once I was staying at Uruvelā, at the Goat-herd's Banyan tree, soon after my Enlightenment"; and again, "I once was staying at Rājagaha, in the Bambū Grove, the Squirrels' feeding-ground"; and again, "Once I was staying, O monks, at Sāvattthi in the Victor's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor"; and again, "Once I was staying at Vesālī at Pagoda Hall in the Great Forest"? Is not all this Scripture (*Suttanto*)?

Yes.

Therefore indeed the Lord stood in the world of men. [You now admit then that] the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men?

Yes.

Was not the Lord born in the world, enlightened in the world, and did he not dwell overcoming the world, by the world undefiled?

Yes.

Well, then, if this be so, it must assuredly be said by us that the Lord Buddha stood in the world of men.

Here we see early Buddhist orthodoxy fighting the same battle as early Christian orthodoxy—maintaining that the Lord was a real man of flesh and blood against the extravagant theory that he was phantasmal, transcendental, beyond the world (*lokuttaro*). The passage about dwelling in the world undefiled was one which was wrested by the Docetists to mean that the Lord was non-incarnate.

74. SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASTER.

John X. 8.

All that came before me are thieves and robbers.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. 2.)

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E. XI, p. 107.)

O Subhaddo, in whatever religious system the Noble Eightfold Path is found, in that alone is found a philosopher even unto the second, third and fourth [degrees]. Void of philosophers are other systems.

There is no need to set forth more texts under this head : the whole of Part IV. is full of them. To call this consciousness of greatness megalomania is absurd. Megalomania is a false consciousness of greatness, but the consciousness of genius is a true one. Wordsworth was not a megalomaniac because he was conscious that future ages would rank him as a great poet. It is a common mistake to confound the confidence of knowledge with the conceit of ignorance. Genius is always self-conscious, however much modesty may suppress it.

Part V.

CLOSING SCENES ; THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH ; ESCHATOLOGY.

75. TRANSFIGURATION.

Mark IX. 2-8.

After six days Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart by themselves : and he was transfigured before them : and his garments became glistening, exceeding white ; so as no fuller on earth can whiten them. And there appeared unto them Elijah with Moses : and they were talking with Jesus. And Peter answereth and saith to Jesus, Rabbi, it is good for us to be here : and let us make three tabernacles ; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah. For he wist not what to

answer; for they became sore afraid. And there came a cloud overshadowing them: and there came a voice out of the cloud, This is my beloved Son: hear ye him. And suddenly looking round about, they saw no one any more, save Jesus only with themselves.

Luke IX. 30, 31.

And behold, there talkt with him two men, which were Moses and Elijah; who appeared in glory, and *spake of his decease* which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. 2.)

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E.,
Vol. XI, p. 80.)

Now not long after Pukkuso the Mallian had gone, St. Ānando placed upon the person of the Lord that pair of gold-cloth robes, burnisht and ready for wear. And when so placed upon the person of the Lord, it appeared bereft of its brightness.

And St. Ānando said unto the Lord: "Wonderful, O Lord! Marvelous, O Lord! that the color of the Tathāgato's skin should be so pure and purified. For when I placed upon the person of the Lord this pair of gold-

cloth robes, burnisht and ready for wear, it appeared bereft of its brightness."

"Ānando, it is even so. There are two occasions, Ānando, when the color of a Tathāgato's skin becomes pure and exceeding purified. What are the two ?

"On the night, Ānando, wherein a Tathāgato is supernally enlightened with incomparable and perfect enlightenment, and on the night when he enters Nirvāṇa with that kind⁽¹⁾ of Nirvāṇa which leaves no substrata behind : on these two occasions the color of a Tathāgato's skin becomes pure and exceeding purified. And now, Ānando, this day, in the third watch of the night, in the garden ground of Kusinārā, in the sāl-grove of the Mallians, between the twin sāl-trees, will take place the Tathāgato's passage into Nirvāṇa. Come, Ānando, let us go on to the river Kakutthā.

"Even so, Lord," said St. Ānando, in assent unto the Lord.

The pair of burnisht gold-cloth robes were brought by Pukkuso :

The Master, when begirt therewith, in golden color shone.

(1) See Itivuttaka 44, (Chinese II. 1. 18), for the two kinds of Nirvāṇa. I do not fear to translate thus in view of this remarkable passage, so obviously referred to in our text. One line of the primitive Itivuttaka is worth whole pages of the de-veloped Dialogs.

The stanza proclaims the antiquity of the story. The two occasions, Illumination and Great Decease, find their Christian counterparts in the opened heavens at Baptism and at Transfiguration. On each occasion the heavenly voice is heard, while on the second the subject of conversation with Moses and Elijah is, according to Luke, the Decease or Exodus about to be accomplished at Jerusalem. Here again Luke has one of those obscure agreements with Buddhism which we have noticed so often. Apart from any mere Divine Hero-legend we have, both in the Illumination and the Transfiguration, authentic elements of fact.

Dr. Henry Leffmann, of Philadelphia, in his essay on the Mental Condition of Jesus (1904) considers this phenomenon the result of hypnotic sleep, whereinto the Lord had put the disciples. But the Buddhist parallel points to another explanation. The Transfiguration is only another form of the Wraith which appears before death. Now, *these sacred dramas make the hero experience all the mystic events which are believed to happen to men.* Modern psychological research has shown that some of them do happen. I do not know of any case of Transfiguration in the Psychical Society's Proceedings, but have personal knowledge of one. A soldier in the Civil War was hit in the head by a spent ball; there was no apparent wound, but he died three or four weeks afterwards. His mother said that *shortly before death his whole body became luminous.* I took this account from an acquaintance who had it from the

percipient, and give it for what it is worth. Others, better authenticated, will be doubtless collected.

Besides luminescence at death, there are other phenomena to be noted. The late Dr. Edwin D. Babbitt, of San José, California, in his *Health Guide* (New York, 1874, pp. 54, 55) gives the following case :—

“A Mrs. Minnie Merton has just given me her experiences in full. She says that from her childhood up she has seen various colors *radiating from different parts of the person*, especially from the head, and used to read everybody’s character in that way. She at first supposed everyone could do the same.”

On January 3, 1874, she gave Dr. Babbitt this account : dark red was seen to issue from the base of the brain, becoming black in gross natures ; yellow from the upper brain, nearly white in high natures ; blue from the higher front brain ; dark-blue over the eyebrows. Green came from the phrenological organ of Benevolence ; purple from Self-Esteem ; scarlet from Firmness ; and orange from the sides of the head. If such visions could be had in nineteenth-century New York, we need not be astonished at the following from the *Patisamhidāmaggo* I. 53 :(2)

From the upper part of [the Lord’s] body there proceeds a flame of fire, and from the lower part thereof a torrent of water. Again,

(2) See Parallel 42.

from the lower part proceeds a flame of fire, and a torrent of water from the upper.

The *Prātihārya-sūtra*, or Miracle-scripture, which is embedded in the Tibetan Book of Discipline and also in the *Divyāvadāna*, tells a story about Buddha making manifest to a crowd these appearances of luminescence and spectral water.

Myers, in his *Human Personality and its Survival of Death* (London, 1903) discusses various phenomena of luminescence.

76. LAST LOOK AT OLD SCENES.

Mark XI. 11.

And he entered into Jerusalem, into the temple ; and when he had lookt round about upon all things, it being now eventide, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. N. C. 119.)(1)

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E.

Vol. XI, p. 64.)

Now the Lord, having drest betimes, took his bowl in his robe and entered Vesāli for alms ; and when he had past thru Vesāli, and had eaten his meal and was returning from the quest of alms, he gazed upon Vesāli with a leonine(2) look, and addrest St. Ānando, saying : "Ānando, this will be the last time that the Tathāgato will look upon Vesāli !"

(1) This passage is omitted in three other versions. (A. M.)

(2) The Pali is elephant-look, explained by Rhys Davids to mean that Buddha turned with his whole body.

77. APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

Matthew XVI. 17-19.

And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church ; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

Middling Collection, Dialog 111. (C. T. 121.) (1)

Monks, it is only of Sāriputto that one can truly say : He is a lawful son of the Lord, born of his mouth, born of his religion, spiritually created, a spiritual kinsman, not a carnal one. Sāriputto, O monks, keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato.

Numerical Collection I. 13.

Monks, I do not perceive another single individual who keeps up the incomparable

(1) Cf. Anesaki's book, pp. 182, 183.

empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato, excepting Sāriputto.

Sāriputto, O monks, keeps up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato.

Numerical Collection V. 132. (C. P. in Ekottara).

Monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler (*Cakkavatti*) is endowed with five attributes, and keeps up the empire (literally, keeps the wheel rolling) set going by his father by righteousness alone: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by any human being, by any hostile hand.

What are the five attributes?

In this case, monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler is worldly wise and spiritually wise, temperate, wise in the times, and wise in the assemblies.

Monks, the eldest son of a king who is a world-ruler is endowed with these five attributes, and keeps up the empire set going by his father by righteousness alone: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by any human being, by any hostile hand.

Exactly thus, monks, does Sāriputto, with five qualities (*dhammā*) endowed, keep up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato: that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by philosopher

or brahmin, angel or Tempter, archangel, or anyone in the world.

What are the five qualities ?

In this case, monks, is Sāriputto worldly wise, spiritually wise, temperate, wise in the times and wise in the assemblies. With these five qualities endowed, monks, does Sāriputto keep up the incomparable empire of religion set going once for all by the Tathāgato : that is the wheel which cannot be turned back by philosopher or brahmin, angel or Tempter, archangel, or any one in the world.

We have in another passage of the Chinese Ekottara a parallel to this. Buddha proclaims himself to be the King (cf. Parallel 55) and trusts his Religion to Ānando's care and says :

Any one who propagates this Religion is the heir to Buddha. (A. M.)

**78. HOLY SCRIPTURE:
THE OLD AND THE NEW.**

Matthew V. 17, 18.

Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets : I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you : Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law till all things be accomplisht.

Matthew V. 21, 22 ; 33, 34, &c.

Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time.....But I say unto you.....

Mark XIII. 31.

Heaven and earth shall pass away : but my words shall not pass away.

1 Timothy VI. 3, 4.

If any man teacheth a different doctrine, and consenteth not to sound words, [even] the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness ; he is puffed up, knowing nothing, but doting about questionings and disputes of words.

Numerical Collection IV. 185. (S. T. in *Samyukta*). (1)

Once the Lord was staying at Rājagaha, upon the Mount of Vulture-Peak, and at that season many highly distinguishd friars⁽²⁾ of Serpentine [River] were dwelling upon the bank in the friars' cloister-garden : there were Antabhāro, Varadharo, Sakuludāyi the friar, and other highly distinguishd friars.

Now the Lord, having arisen from retirement at eventide, approacht the friars' cloister-garden on the bank where the Serpentine [River] men were. And just then, among the non-Buddhist friars who were sitting assembled together, there arose a conversation about the Truths of the Brahmins.

Thereupon the Lord approacht the friars and sat upon a seat made ready for him ; and so sitting he said to them : "Friars, what is the subject of your present conversation sitting here, and what was your topic which was interrupted?"

"Gotamo, while sitting together here,

(1) This is the counterpart of *Saṃyutta* XXII. 90. The counterpart of *Aṅguttara* IV. 185 is found in *Ekottara* XXVI. 8, which, however, is a very much abridged text. In the *Saṃyukta*, Ānando speaks to Chando when, after the Master's death, doubts as to the truth of the four principles occurred to the mind of the latter. The place is Koçambī. (A. M.)

(2) For a description of the friars or wandering philosophers of ancient India see Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India* : London, 1903, p. 141.

we have been talking about the Truths of the Brahmins."

"Friars, there are these four truths of the Brahmins which have been realized by me by my own higher knowledge, and made known. What are the four ?

"Friars, in this case a brahmin says thus : 'ALL LIVES ARE IGNORANCE.' In so speaking he tells the truth and not falsehood. He thinks therefore : 'There is no such distinction as philosopher or brahmin ; I am neither better, alike, nor worse.' And whatever truth is there is his by higher knowledge, and he enters into pity and compassion for all lives.

"And again, O friars, a brahmin says : 'ALL LUSTS ARE EVANESCENT, PAINFUL AND FRAUGHT WITH CHANGE.' He comes to the same conclusion as before, and the truth therein is his by higher knowledge, and he enters into disgust with, detachment from, and cessation of, all lusts.

"Again, O friars, a brahmin says : 'ALL EXISTENCES ARE EVANESCENT, PAINFUL AND FRAUGHT WITH CHANGE.' Again he comes to the same conclusion, and the truth therein is his by higher knowledge, and he enters into disgust with, detachment from, and cessation of, all existences.

"Moreover, O friars, a brahmin says : 'THERE IS NO FUNDAMENTAL DISTINC-

TION BETWEEN ME AND ANYONE ELSE.'(3) In saying so, the brahmin speaks truth and not falsehood. He therefore reflects : 'There is no such distinction as philosopher or brahmin; I am neither better, alike, nor worse.' And whatever truth is there is his by higher knowledge and he enters upon the path, which is nothingness itself.

"These, O friars, are the four truths of the Brahmins which have been realized by me by my own higher knowledge and made known.

First Sermon : Major Section on Discipline 1. 6.
(C. T., N. C. 1122).

Translated in S. B. E. XIII, p. 96, and XI. p. 150.

Insight, knowledge, intellection, wisdom and intuition arose within me, saying : "This is the Noble Truth concerning Pain." [It was], O monks, among doctrines not formerly transmitted.

For the stereotyped passage about the sacred lore of the Brahmins, see S. B. E. X, part 2, p. 97 ; for Atharva Veda, p. 168. For training in the

(3) Warren translates this sentence literally : I am nowhere a somewhatness for anyone, and nowhere for me is there a somewhatness of anyone. (*Buddhism in Translations*, p. 145, from the *Visuddhi-maggo*.)

Buddhist Scriptures, Dhammapada 259 and 363, and my notes,(4) pp. 61 and 89.

Numerical Collection II. 2.

Monks, these two qualities conduce to the confusion and decline of the Gospel.

What two ?

Faulty remembrance (or, preservation) of the text and faulty explanation of the meaning. Monks, when a text is ill remembered, the meaning also is ill explained. These two qualities, O monks, conduce to the confusion and decline of the Gospel.

There are two qualities which conduce to the stability of the Gospel, with no confusion and with no decline. What two ?

Good remembrance of the text and good explanation of the meaning. Monks, when a text is well remembered, the meaning also is well explained. These two qualities, O monks, conduce to the stability of the Gospel, with no confusion and with no decline.

(4) Hymns of the Faith (*Dhammapada*). Translated by Albert J. Edmunds. (Chicago, 1902).

79. THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL.

Mark XIII. 10.

The Gospel must first be preacht unto all the nations.

Matthew XXIV. 14.

This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preacht in the whole world, for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come.

Long Collection, Dialog 16.

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E.,
Vol. XI, p. 53).

(C. T., N. C. 119. Cf. No. 2 of the Chinese Dirgha,
and N. C. 118).

O Evil One, I shall not pass into Nirvāna, [i. e., die] till my monks and nuns, my laymen and laywomen, become wise and trained disciples, apt and learned, reciters of the Doctrine, [&c., as in Parallel 64.] O Evil One, I shall not pass into Nirvāna, till this religion of mine is successful, prosperous, widespread, popular, ubiquitous; in a word, made thoroly public among men.

80. DECLINE OF THE FAITH.

With Remarks on Maitreya.

Matthew XXIV. 11, 12.

Many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold.

Luke XVIII: 8.

When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?

Numerical Collection V. 79.(1)

(C. T., N. C. 468.(2) Cf. also N. C. 123, 470 and 766.)

Monks, the following five future dangers (or, fears for the future), tho not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert them. What are the five?

Monks, there will be monks in the far

(1) Translated from the *Anāgata-bhayāni* (Future Dangers), one of the texts among the selections of the Emperor Asoko, in his Edict at Bhābra, and found in the Numerical Collection, V. 77-80. Chapters 77 and 78 deal with the personal dangers for monks in any age, including Buddha's own. In Chapter 77 they practise religion for security against the dangers of the forest: snakes, scorpions, centipedes, etc. In Chapter 78 they practise it for security in old age or times of trial. I now translate Chapter 79 entire.

(2) Translated between A. D. 265 and 316. Here we have before us another version of the *Anāgatabhayāni* coming

future, wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and being so, they will confer Initiation upon others, and will not be able to train them in superior morals, emotions and intelligence. These, being also without the aforesaid control, will initiate others in their turn, who will keep up the same state of things. And so, monks, from corruption of doctrine [will come] corruption of discipline, and from corruption of discipline corruption of doctrine.

This, monks, is the first future danger which, tho not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert it.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the

down to us from the latter part of the third century A. D. It differs not in substance from the Pali but much in its arrangement. Subdivisions under each of five dangers seem not to have been original. They are as follows :

[I.] Pursuit of fame; [II.] (1) seeking livelihood by commerce, (2) hatred against the pious; [III.] (1) not being diligent (as in the above two heads and corresponding to the first part of each danger in the Pali), (2) ignorance of Scripture, (3) disobedience toward wise men; [IV.] (1) corruption of the discipline, (2) love of social intercourse and vanity, (3) pride, (4) looseness of conduct; [V.] (1) neglecting deep teaching: the twelve Nidānas, the thirty-seven Sections, the wisdom of the Vaipulya mysticism, the incomparable Prajñāpāramitā, the promise (or faith) of Nothingness, (2) reciting miscellaneous stanzas and petty secular texts, (3) because novices like them, (4) and in consequence they are abandoned by angels. (5) In this way the right teaching wanes.

Thus we see IV. and V. correspond to the fifth and fourth danger of the Pali, and as a whole this text may be said to be another and later version of the Pali *Anāgata-bhayāni*. (A. M.)

far future wanting in control as before, who being so will give asylum to others, and they will not be able to train them in superior morals, emotions and intelligence. These will give asylum to yet others, and so [there will be] more corruption of discipline from doctrine, and of doctrine from discipline.

This, monks, is the second future danger which will come and must be guarded against.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future without physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control, and being so, when they discourse upon the Higher Doctrine (*Abhidhammo*) and the Exegesis (*Vedalla*) they will not be awake, descending into doctrine dark.⁽³⁾ And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the third future danger which, tho not arisen now, will hereafter arise. Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake must struggle to avert it.

(4) [Again,] monks, there will be monks

(3) *Awake* is the same root as *Buddha* and *Buddhist*, while *dark* is the same word as the Sanskrit *Krishna*. One might almost suspect a punning allusion to the later admixture of Buddhism with the *Krishna* cult; but our text is too ancient.

(4) This paragraph, except the words in square brackets, is found in the Classified Collection, XX. 7. The grammatical connection of the clause beginning, **There are Dialogs**, etc., is as awkward in the Pali as it is in the English, and seems to indicate a separateness for this passage.

in the far future, [wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and they being thus wanting in physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control,] there are Dialogs (*Suttantā*) spoken by the Tathāgato—deep, of deep meaning, transcendental, connected with the Void(5) (or, classified under Void); and when these are recited they will not listen or give ear or present a heart of knowledge; and they will not study those doctrines, learn them, nor reflect thereon. But there are Dialogs poet-made, poetical, thrilling the heart, suggestive to the heart, the utterances of disciples who are outsiders. When these are recited they will listen, give ear, and present a heart of knowledge: these doctrines they will study, learn by heart and reflect upon.

And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the fourth future danger which, tho not arisen now, will hereafter arise.

(5) See, e. g., Majjhima 121 and 122, which were very popular dialogs. The Chinese, in the seventh century, considered them such thoro compendiums of Buddhism that many cared for no other Scriptures. (I-tsing, p. 51. I take nothingness = *suññatā*.)

Majjhima 121 and 122 are Nos. 190 and 191 in Chinese. (A. M.)

Ye must be awake thereto, and being awake, must struggle to avert it.

Again, monks, there will be monks in the far future without physical, moral, emotional and intellectual control; and being so, the Presbyter monks will be luxurious, loose-lived, taking precedence by their descent, in seclusion neglecting their charge. They will not strive with their will for attainment of the unattained, approach to the unapproacht, realization of the unrealized. The last generation of them will fall into heresy, and will be luxurious, loose-lived, taking precedence by descent, in seclusion neglecting their charge. And so, monks, [there will be] corruption of discipline from corruption of doctrine, and corruption of doctrine from corruption of discipline.

This, monks, is the fifth future danger which, tho not arisen now, will hereafter arise, and which ye must be awake to, and so struggle to avert.

These, monks, are the Five Future Dangers which, tho not arisen now, will hereafter arise, and which ye must be awake to, and so struggle to avert.

Chapter 80 gives a detailed account of the future luxuries, such as building monasteries in towns, villages, and capitals; wearing fine robes; associating with young nuns, etc.

The *Buddhist Apocalypse* translated by Warren is a medieval treatise, expanded from just such texts as our present one.

Minor Section on Discipline (*Cullavaggo*) X. 1.

(C. T., N. C. 1117. Cf. Madhyama 116.)

Translated in S. B. E. XX, p. 325.

Ānando, if women had not received permission to go forth from domestic life and enter the homeless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline made public by the Tathāgato, then, Ānando, would the religious life have lasted long: the Gospel (*Saddhammo*) would have lasted for *a thousand years*. But, Ānando, now that women have received that permission, the religious life will not last long: the Gospel, Ānando, will now last only *five hundred years*.

This passage is important as a time-mark in the history of the Canon, a fact which was pointed out in my provisional preface to this series of Parallels. (*Open Court*, February, 1900, p. 115). In patristic works written after the Christian era, such as Buddhaghoso's commentaries and the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, the figure 500 has been altered to 5000. This was because the five hundred years had expired, and still the faith flourisht. Therefore the sacred text has not been materially altered, and

goes back behind the time of Christ. The period of a thousand years in our text may perhaps be compared with those of the Mazdean Saviors or the millennium of the Apocalyptic Christ.

It is to be regretted that the period of decline has been confounded with the Second Coming or advent of Metteyyo (Sanskrit, Maitreyas ;(6) contracted into Maitreya). Thus, Eitel, in his *Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism*, places this advent five thousand years after Gotamo, which, as we have seen, is a later exaggeration of the five hundred predicted in the Book of Discipline. Rhys Davids, in his *Manual*, probably following Eitel, says the same ; for that learned scholar has never had the leisure to rewrite his book and give full references in the light of his present knowledge. Pāli learning is still in its infancy. Even Kern, whose *Manual* is deemed the best by so exacting a critic as Barth, does not give the original Pāli authority on the Metteyyo prophecy, but a passage in the late patristic Milindo. This is because the Pāli text in question has not been edited in Roman letters, but must be painfully read in the character of Siam. The text, however, was briefly referred to by Oldenberg in 1881, in the first edition of his *Buddha* ;

(6) The first Europeans to transcribe Sanskrit words were the Greeks, and they rightly transcribed them in the nominative case, thus bringing out the sameness of the ॐ -ending in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

but was never, I believe, given fully, at least in English, until its appearance in *The Open Court* in 1900. (Cf. Oldenberg, 4. ed. 1903, p. 187).

Paul Carus, in his *Gospel of Buddha*, p. 217, made the mistake pointed out, of associating the coming of Metteyyo with the end of the period of purity, and Dharmapāla requested me to set the matter right. Hence this present article, which appeared in *The Open Court*, November, 1902.

Owing to the curious coincidence that five hundred years is the period between Gotamo and Jesus, some writers who have accepted the confusion of Metteyyo with this period, have regarded him as a Buddhist prophecy of Christ. Were it so, it would be a more remarkable one than any oracle of Daniel or Isaiah; for nowhere do the prophets clearly state that, at the end of a definite, non-mystical, mundane term of years, a Savior will arise named Love, for such is the meaning of Metteyyo. I have purposely kept separate, in my Pāli Parallels, these two doctrines of the Second Coming and the Decline of the Faith.

**81. DISCOURSE ON THE END OF
THE WORLD; OR,
THE SERMON ON THE SEVEN SUNS.**

Mark XIII. 31.

Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

2 Peter III. 10.

But the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the heavenly bodies [or, elements] shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up [or, discovered].

Revelation XXI. 1.

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth are past away; and the sea is no more.

Numerical Collection VII. 62.

(C. T. Chinese Middling Collection, No. 8, pp. 188, 189;
also Ekottara.)

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying at Vesāli, in Ambapāli's

grove. And the Lord address the monks, saying: "Monks!" "Lord!" answered those monks in reply to him. The Lord spake thus:

"Impermanent, O monks, are the constituents of existence, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one with all constituent things, and emancipate therefrom. Sineru, monks, the monarch of mountains, is eighty-four thousand leagues⁽¹⁾ in length and breadth; eighty-four thousand leagues deep in the great ocean, and eighty-four thousand above it.

Now there comes, O monks, a season when after many years, many hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of years, it does not rain; and while it rains not, all seedlings and vegetation, all plants, grasses, and trees dry up, wither away and cease to be. Thus, monks, constituent things are impermanent, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one therewith and emancipate therefrom.

And, monks, there comes a season, at vast intervals in the lapse of time, when a second sun appears. After the appearance of the second sun, monks, the brooks and ponds dry up, vanish away and cease to be. So impermanent are constituent things! And then, monks, there comes a season, at vast intervals

(1) I. e., yojanas, a yojana being about eight miles.

in the lapse of time, when a third sun appears ; and thereupon the great rivers : to wit, the Ganges, the Jamna, the Rāpti, the Gogra, the Mahi,—dry up, vanish away and cease to be.

At length, after another great period, a fourth sun appears, and thereupon the great lakes, whence those rivers had their rise : namely, Anotatto,(2) Lion-leap, Chariot-maker, Keel-bare, Cuckoo, Six-bayed, and Slow-flow, dry up, vanish away and cease to be.

Again, monks, when, after another long lapse, a fifth sun appears, the waters in the great ocean go down for an hundred leagues ; then for two hundred, three hundred, and even unto seven hundred leagues, until the water stands only seven fan-palms deep, and so on unto one fan-palm ; then seven fathoms deep, and so on unto one fathom, half a fathom ; waist-deep, knee-deep, ankle-deep. Even, O monks, as in the fall season, when it rains in large drops, the waters in some places are standing around the feet of the kine : even so, monks, the waters in the great ocean in some places are standing to the depth of kine-feet. After the appearance of the fifth sun, monks, the water in the great ocean is not the measure of a finger-joint. Then at last, after another

(2) I am not sure of the meaning of this word and its Sanskrit equivalent *Anavatapta*, but it appears to mean *without warmth at the bottom*.

lapse of time, a sixth sun appears; whereupon this great earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, reek and fume and send forth clouds of smoke. Even as a potter's baking, when first besmeared, doth reek and fume and smoke, such is the smoke of earth and mountains when the sixth sun appears.

After a last vast interval, a seventh sun appears, and then, monks, this great earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, flare and blaze and become one mass of flame. And now, from earth and mountains, burning and consuming, a spark is carried by the wind and goes as far as the worlds of God; and the peaks of Mount Sineru, burning, consuming, perishing, go down in one vast mass of fire and crumble for an hundred, yea five hundred leagues. And of this great earth, monks, and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, when consumed and burnt, neither ashes nor soot remains. Just as when ghee or oil is consumed and burnt, monks, neither ashes nor soot remains, so is it with the great earth and Mount Sineru.

Thus, monks, impermanent are the constituents of existence, unstable, non-eternal: so much so, that this alone is enough to weary and disgust one with all constituent things and emancipate therefrom. Therefore, monks, do those who deliberate and believe,(3) say this:

(3) Translation uncertain. The word *saddhātā* is not in Childers, and I can find no equivalent in Sanskrit; but the various reading, *saddhārātā*, indicates the sense.

“This earth and Sineru, the monarch of mountains, will be burnt and perish and exist no more,” excepting those who have seen the Path.

A late expansion of this discourse is given by Warren, in his *Buddhism in Translations*, from Buddhaghoso's *Way of Purity*, a Pāli compendium of the fifth Christian century.(4) When Warren wrote, the Pāli original had not as yet appeared in the edition of the Pāli Text Society, which is printed in Roman letters.

It is well known to New Testament scholars that the great Eschatological Discourse in the Synoptical Gospels (i. e., the Sermon on the Last Things, delivered upon the Mount of Olives) is a blending of historical and spiritual vaticination. As I pointed out in 1893,(5) the Evangelist Luke attempted to separate the spiritual prophecy from the historical prediction, putting the former into his seventeenth chapter, and the latter into his twenty-first. But Luke evidently understood even the physical cataclysm to refer to the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Hebrew State. Mark himself and the editor of Matthew probably understood the same thing, tho our English translations of Matthew make his consummation of the con the “end of the world.” After the siege, the early

(4) On p. 323 of Warren's book our present Sutta is quoted by name.

(5) *Haverford College Studies* for 1893: *Our Lord's Quotation from the First Book of Maccabees*.

Christians evidently made this Eschatological Discourse refer to a cosmical convulsion ; and so in the Second Epistle of Peter, the thief-like advent of the spiritual nature into man is transformed into the terrors of a ruined world. But the only words in the Gospel sermon which can justly apply to such a thing are those in all three of the Synoptists : **Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.**(6) I have therefore used this verse among my parallels to Buddha's present discourse, but have given an extract from the Gospel prophecy under Parallel 80.

(6) The second clause indicates the application of this verse : the passing of heaven and earth does not belong to the subject of the discourse, but is used as a standard whereby to gauge the perpetuity of the oracles of Christ.

**82. FORMER RELIGIONS ECLIPST BY
THE RELIGION OF LOVE.**

Matthew V. 17, 18 ; 43, 44.

Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets : I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplisht.....

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy : but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you.

Numerical Collection VII. 62.(1)

In olden times, O monks, there was a religious teacher (or, Master) named Sunetto, founder of an Order, and free from indulgence in lusts ; and he had several hundred disciples. The Master Sunetto preacht to his disciples the doctrine of fellowship with the world of God ; and those who understood all his religion in every way, when he preacht this doctrine, were born again, upon the dissolution of the

(1) There is no break in the Pāli, but the present division is made for the sake of another Gospel parallel, which belongs really to Part 3 (Ethics); but I wish to preserve the integrity of the celebrated sermon. Moreover, it contains eschatology, even in this portion, and may therefore claim a place in Part 5.

body after death, to weal in the world of God. Those who did not understand all his religion in every way were born again, upon the dissolution of the body after death,—some into fellowship with those angels who transmute subjective delights into objective and share them with others;(2) some into fellowship with the angels who delight in subjective creations; some into that of the angels of Content (*Tustiā*); others with the Yāmā; others again with the angels of the Thirty-three; others into fellowship with those of the Four Great Kings; and yet others into fellowship with Warrior magnates, Brahmin magnates, householder magnates.

Now Sunetto the Master, O monks, thought to himself: "It is not fit that I should allow my disciples to have such destinies as these repeatedly: what now if I practise the Highest Love?" Whereupon, monks, the Master Sunetto practised Benevolence (or, love-meditation) for seven years, and for seven eons of consummation and restoration he did not return to this world.(3) Yea, monks, at the consummation of the world(4) he became an Angel of Splendor, and at the world's

(2) I have been guided here by Warren, p. 289, and Lafcadio Hearn, *Gleanings in Buddha-fields*, p. 245.

(3) See Itivuttaka 22, translated above, where Gotamo relates the same of himself.

(4) Itivuttaka has eon.

restoration he rose again in the empty palace of the Brahmās. Yea, then, O monks, he was a Brahmā, the Great Brahmā (or, God), conquering, unconquered, all-seeing, controlling. And thirty-six times, O monks, was he Sakko, the lord of the angels; many hundreds of times was he king, a righteous world-ruler and emperor, victorious to the four seas, arrived at the security of his country, and possess of the seven treasures. Moreover, he had more than a thousand sons, heroes, of mighty frame, crushers of alien armies; he dwelt in this ocean-girt earth, overcoming it, staffless and swordless, by righteousness. But even the Master Sunetto, tho thus long-lived and long-enduring, was not emancipated from birth, old age, death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair; I say he was not emancipated from pain. And why? Because of not being awake to four things (*dhammā*) and not seeing into them. What four? The Noble Ethics, the Noble Trance (*Samādhi*), the Noble Intellection, and the Noble Release (or, Emancipation.) When these, O monks, are known in their sequence and penetrated into,(5) the

(5) Known in their sequence and penetrated into represent the same words before translated: being awake to, and seeing into. So again, Pure Reason (*Paññā*), in the verse below, appears above as Intellection.

craving for existence is annihilated, its renewal is destroyed : one is then reborn no more.

Thus spake the Lord, and when the Auspicious One had said this, the Master further said :

**Morality, Trance, Pure Reason, and
Supreme Release :**

These things are understood by the celebrated Gotamo.

Thus enlightened (*buddho*) by supernal knowledge, he told the doctrine to the monks.

The Master, who made an end of pain, the Seeing One, hath past into Nirvāna.(6)

(6) Instead of this portion of the discourse the Chinese Ekottara has narrations about primitive human society and the origin of castes. (A. M.)

83. THE GREAT RESTORAION.

Matthew XIX. 28.

Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in *the regeneration* when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Luke XXI. 27, 28.

And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption draweth nigh.

Acts III. 19-21.

Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord; and that he may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus: whom the heaven must receive until *the times of restoration of all things*, whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began.

Long Collection, Dialog 1. (C. T. 21.)

Translated by Gogerly in 1846, *apud* Grimblot, 1876; and by Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899, p. 30.

Now there comes a season, O monks,

when, sooner or later, after a vast interval in the lapse of time, this universe (*loko*) is consummated (literally, rolls together). Now when the universe is consummated, beings generally have their destiny consummated among the Angels of Splendor (literally, are Splendor-consummation-ones). There they are mind-made, joy-feeders, self-resplendent, walking the sky, abiding in glory, and abide so for a period long and vast.

Now, there comes also a season, O monks, when, sooner or later, after a vast interval in the lapse of time, this universe is restored. And when the universe is restored there appears the empty Palace of Brahmā.

As in the New Testament, the words world and con are used interchangeably in speaking of this destruction and renewal. The doctrine in question, like that of Satan, entered Palestine from Persia.

I translate the following from August Wünsche's *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*: Göttingen, 1878, p. 233, where he is commenting upon Matthew XIX. 28:

"The idea of the renewal of the world is a branch of Millenarianism which arose on Persian soil, and after the Exile was transplanted also in the Jewish, and became indigenous.

"*Sanhedrin*, fol. 97. b. 'Rabbi Chanan ben

Tachlipha informed Rabbi Joseph : I have found a man who held in his hand a roll written in Assyrian characters, but in the holy language. When I askt him whence he got it, he gave me this reply : I got it when I was serving in the Persian army, having found it among the Persian treasures. In this writing I found the following : After 4291 years from the creation of the world it will pass away, and in this time there will be wars between the monsters Gog and Magog. The remaining period belongs to the time of the redemption. But the Eternal will renew the world first after 7000 years, or, as Rabbi Acha bar Rabba thinks, after 5000 years.'

"The old *Kaddish* prayer reads in the context which lies before us in Maimonides, *Tr. Tephila* :

'Praised and hallowed be the great Name of Him who will one day renew the world, quicken the dead, redeem the living, build up the city of Jerusalem, restore the holy Temple, exterminate idolatry, and bring in the pure worship of God in its glory.'"

This last passage is very similar to the well-known refrain in the Mazdean *Zamyād Yaçt*.

84. THE SECOND COMING.

Mark XIV. 61, 62.

Again the high priest askt him, and saith unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? And Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.

John XIV. 26.

But the Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you.

Rev. XX. 6.

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: over these the second death hath no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

Long Collection, Dialog 26. (C. T. 6.)(1)

Translated from the Siamese edition, because not yet printed in Roman letters.

Monks, in the days when men live eighty thousand years, there will arise in the world a

(1) Madhyama 70 speaks only of the Cakravartin and omits the prophecy about Maitreya. There are eight passages

Buddha named Metteyyo⁽²⁾ (the Benevolent One) a Holy One,⁽³⁾ a supremely Enlightened One, endowed with wisdom in conduct; auspicious, knowing the universe; an incomparable Charioteer of men who are tamed; a Master of angels and mortals, a Blessed Buddha; even as I have now arisen in the world, a Buddha with these same qualities endowed. What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge he will publish to this universe, with its angels, its fiends, and its archangels, and to the race of philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples; even as I now, having all this knowledge, do publish the same unto the same. He will preach his religion, glorious in its origin, glorious at the climax, glorious at the goal, in the spirit and the letter. He will proclaim a religious life, wholly perfect and thoroly pure; even as I now preach my religion and a like life do proclaim. He will keep up a society of monks numbering many thousand, even as I now keep up a society of monks numbering many hundred.

about Maitreya in the Chinese Ekottara and two of them fix the term of his appearance to thirty Kalpas hereafter. (Cf. my book, pp. 204-205.) The usual term of the time between Gotamo and Maitreya accepted among Japanese Buddhists is 5,670,000,000 years. (A. M.)

(2) Sanskrit, *Maitreya*.

(3) *Arahat*, and so always; Sanskrit, *Arhat*. This is the stem-form in each case. The Pali nominative is *Arahā*.

Estlin Carpenter (*Hibbert Journal*, July, 1906) in criticizing this Parallel, remarks: "Mr. Edmunds omits the Pāli context, which describes vast cycles of time during which the duration of human life will rise and fall, thru sin (to ten years), and then slowly rise by increase of merit again to eighty thousand. By that time the world will once more be fit for a Buddha to appear. But this prophecy is wholly unlike the Gospel announcements of the event which the followers of Jesus were themselves to live to see."

This criticism is a good example of many more upon the present work. First, the doctrine about the cycles is involved(4) in the context, translated by me both here and in my Tōkyō edition, as well as in the initial article in the *Chicago Open Court* for June, 1900. Secondly, I have laid it down at the outset that my Parallels consist in fundamental conceptions. The pith of this Parallel about the Second Coming is the doctrine that the Master (or his representative) will reappear. Philosophers like Tylor or Frazer, whose minds have been trained to compare ideas, would count this a conception common to the two beliefs, and therefore within the avowed scope of my work.

The Christian idea of the Holy Ghost was not adduced by me among the New Testament passages for this Parallel, but was added by Paul Carus. However, as we know that the doctrine of

(4) In the words: **when men live eighty thousand years.**

the Comforter was the Johannine and spiritual form of the grosser Pauline Second Coming, I have no objection to its standing, tho of course the cogent parallel is the Pauline and Apocalyptic one, i. e., of a physical reappearance of Christ.

85. THE LORD'S LAST MEAL PRESERVES PRIMEVAL RITES.

While we would draw no parallel between Buddha's Last Meal and the Christian Eucharist such as we should draw between the Angelic Heralds of Luke and those of the Sutta-Nipāto, yet these meals have something in common. It is this: they both preserve primeval sacred ideas about eating and drinking. Henry Clay Trumbull's monograph, *The Blood Covenant*, has set

forth the ancient practise underlying the Christian sacrament : viz., the exchange of blood to cement friendship,—the blood, by a later refinement of the race, being represented by wine. The text of Mark, which is the oldest, has for the memorial words :—

Mark XIV. 22-25.

And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blest he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye : this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them : and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my *blood of the covenant*,⁽¹⁾ which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

But Paul was not content with this simple form, and a vision from the risen Christ informed him that the memorial words commanded a perpetuity for the rite :—

1 Cor. XI. 23-27.

I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread ; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body which is for you : this do in remembrance of me. In

(1) The words in italics are from Exodus XXIV. 8.

like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood : this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord.

This new formula; with its mysterious threat, affiliated the Sacred Meal to those of Eleusis and of Mithra, much to the scandal of Justin Martyr, who saw in the latter a diabolic travesty. Thus did Christianity perpetuate a primeval rite, inherited by several of the book-religions from the prehistoric past. But Gospel authority was wanting until Paul's new words were inserted into the text of Luke :—

Luke XXII. 14-23.

And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer : for I say unto you, I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves : for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom

of God shall come. And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, **This is my body** (which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you.) **But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. For the Son of man indeed goeth as it hath been determined: but woe unto that man thru whom he is betrayed! And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.**

The Revised Version of 1881 (which I always use) notes in the margin that the words in brackets are not in certain manuscripts. The best critics consider them an addition made from Paul. Luke was reckoned by the early Christians as Paul's Gospel. Tertullian gives us their literary standard when he says that the works of disciples are counted those of their masters.

Just as the Christian Eucharist preserves the covenant blood of Exodus, derived from a remoter past, so does the Buddhist final meal preserve an equally ancient practise. In the Book of the Great Decease we read :—

Book of the Great Decease, Chap. IV.

Now the Lord addrest Cundo the smith and said: "Whatever dried boar's flesh remains to thee, Cundo, that bury in a hole. I see no one, Cundo, upon earth nor in the

heavens of Māro or Brahmā, no one among philosophers and brahmins, princes and peoples, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Tathāgato."

"Even so, Master!" said Cundo the smith in assent unto the Lord. And whatever dried boar's flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.

Now, James G. Frazer, in his remarkable book, *The Golden Bough*, tells us this (second edition: London, 1900, Vol. I, p. 318):

"No one may touch the food which the King of Loango leaves upon his plate: it is buried in a hole in the ground."

This is done to prevent the scraps being used by a sorcerer, but is also part and parcel of the whole system of royal and priestly taboos, such as seen in the former seclusion of the Mikado. It is well known to students of historical religion that the offices of priest and king were once identical, as in the case of Melchizedek. The primitive royal hierarch was a deity on earth, and the spiritual ancestor of

"That divinity which doth hedge a king."

The supreme example of the divine or priestly king is the God-Man; and the race-consciousness of both the great historic Masters led them to identify themselves with this mythic Divine-Human. Greater than any parallels in their conduct from an

alleged connection between their stories is the older and more venerable one which has its roots in the hero-legends of primeval man.

Curiously enough this utterance of Buddha (Rhys Davids IV. 19., *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 72) is found in no Chinese version of similar text. N. C. No. 545, No. 552 and No. 119 insert just here another episode in longer or shorter form. It tells that a Bhikshu came later than the others and took the plate in which the portion of the *sūkaramad-davam*(2) was remaining. After the dinner was finished and the plates were washed clean by water, Cundo the smith asked Buddha how many kinds of *Ṣrāmanas* there were in the world. Buddha in reply distinguishes four kinds: 1. Those who are excellent in conduct; 2. Those who explain the Law well; 3. Those who live by Law; and 4. Those hypocrites who appear to be law-abiding, but are really polluted by vices. This last is evidently an allusion to that monk who stole a portion of the fine food. The answer of Buddha is in verse only in No. 545. The episode agrees with the Cunda-sutta of the Sutta-Nipāto.

No. 118 omits this episode and also IV. 19. of the Pāli, and instead of them makes Buddha speak in praise of Cundo's donation and also promise that he will take no one else's food after that. (A. M.)

(2) The *Dirgha* has: the shoot of Candana tree. The other two texts do not mention the name of the food.

86. DEATH IN THE OPEN AIR.

Mark XV. 22.

And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. 2.

Also N. C. 118 and 548.)

**Book of the Great Decease. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids
in S. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 86.**

**Now at that season the twin sāḷ-trees were
all one mass of blossom with untimely blooms.**

All over Christendom there are pictures of the Crucifixion, and all over Buddhaddom there are pictures of the Parinivāṇa. Both of these august tragedies took place in the open air, not in a stifling bed-chamber, whether of palace or of slum. The American poet Poe has said that life in the open air is one of the prime necessities of happiness, and the lives and deaths of our two great Masters were fulfilled therein.

**87. EARTHQUAKE AT THE
MASTER'S DEATH.**

Matthew XXVII. 51-53.

Behold, the veil of the temple was rent⁽¹⁾ in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake; and the rocks were rent; and the tombs were opened; and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. 2.(2)

Also N. C. 118 and 119.)

**(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E.,
Vol. XI, p. 116.)**

When the Lord entered into Nirvāṇa, a great earthquake, terrific and tremendous, accompanied his entry into Nirvāṇa; and the drums of the angels rolled.

This is the regular Hindū expression for thunder.

The speeches of the angels Brahmā and Sakko which follow take the place of Matthew's apparitions.

(1) There is a curious parallel to the rent veil in Plutarch, *Vit. Demet.* 12.

(2) Cf. the Ekottara: *Numerical Collection* VIII. 52. (A. M.)

**88. THE MASTER ASCENDS BEYOND
HUMAN KEN, BUT IS PRESENT
WITH THE DISCIPLES.**

Matthew XXVIII. 20.

Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the
consummation of the age.

John XIV. 19.

Yet a little while, and the world beholdeth
me no more; but ye behold me: because I
live, ye shall live also.

John XVI. 16.

A little while, and ye behold me no more;
and again a little while, and ye shall see me.

Long Collection, Dialog No. 1. (C. T. 21.)

Translated by Gogerly in 1846 (reprinted at Paris in 1876) and
by Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899, p. 54.

**Monks, the cord of existence is cut off, but
the Tathāgato's body remains. So long as his
body shall remain, then angels and mortals
will see him. Upon the dissolution of the
body beyond the bounds of life neither angels
nor mortals will see him.**

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. 2.)

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E.,
Vol. XI, p. 112.)

It may be, Ānando, that you will think to yourselves: "The utterance of the Master is past away; our Master is no more." But, Ānando, you must not think so: the Doctrine and Discipline, Ānando, taught you and laid down by me, must be your Master when I am gone.

Compare John XII. 48: The word that I spake, the same shall judge him in the last day.

This is a contrast rather than a parallel. As a Christian, one feels it profane to parallel the New Testament with this; but as a philosopher, one is dealing with essential ideas, and must be faithful thereto. The Paraclete or Presence of the ascended Christ was more than Doctrine and Discipline: it was a glorified human personality, encompassing the objects of its love. But Buddha puts the intellect above the affections, and tells his mourning followers to be self-contained, self-islanded, self-illuminated.⁽²⁾ At the same time the disciples realized his presence after death, as is evidenced from two Dialogs in the Middling Collection (Nos. 84 and 94), where new converts ask to take refuge in the missionary who has converted them. In each

(2) Cf. my book, pp. 168-169, 182-192. (A. M.)

case the missionary forbids it, and says they must take refuge in the Buddha. Where is he? they ask. He has past into Nirvāṇa, is the answer. But, say they, just as we should go a hundred leagues to see him if alive, even so can we take refuge in him now that he is gone.(3)

(3) The Chinese Madhyama has no texts corresponding to Nos. 84 and 94 of the Majjhima. Two texts in the Ekottara preserve the passage for which see my Japanese book, pp. 166-167. It is to be noticed that this idea of the substitution of Buddha's teaching for his personality has led to the doctrine of the *Dharmātmā* or *Dharmakāya* of Buddha. (A. M.)

89. ASCENSION.

Acts 1. 9.

And when he had said these things, as they were looking, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.

Enunciations VIII. 6.

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying in the Bambū Grove beside the Squirrels' feeding-ground, at Rājagaha. And St. Dabbo the Mallian approacht the Lord, saluted him and sat on one side, and so sitting, said to him: "O Auspicious One, my time is at hand to enter Nirvāṇa."⁽¹⁾ "Whatever you think fit, O Dabbo." Then St. Dabbo the Mallian rose from his seat, saluted the Lord, and keeping him on his right hand, went up into the sky, and sat in the posture of meditation in the ether, in the empyrean. Intensely meditating on the nature of flame,⁽²⁾ he ascended and past into Nirvāṇa.

And when St. Dabbo the Mallian had thus gone up, meditated and ascended, there re-

(1) See my defensive note on this rendering in my translation of Digha 14. (*The Marvelous Birth of the Buddhas*: Philadelphia, 1899, p. 4.)

(2) Literally, having entered the element of flame, (or, splendor.) There is a curious coincidence here with Luke XXIV. 26: εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δοξάν=*tejodhātum samāpajjitvā*.

mained neither ashes nor soot of his body when past away,⁽³⁾ consumed and burnt. Even as when ghee or oil is consumed and burnt, neither ashes nor soot remains, so was it with the body of St. Dabbo the Mallian. And forthwith the Lord, having understood the fact, gave vent on that occasion to the following Enunciation :

“The body dissolved, perception ceast, all sensations were utterly consumed;

“The constituents of existence were stilled, consciousness and sense departed.”

This story is more analogous to the fiery ascension of Elijah in the Second Book of Kings than to that of Christ, as related in Acts. There is no account of the Ascension in the Synoptical Gospels, except a single line in Luke XXIV. 51, (4) while the Mark Appendix is a later addition. John refers to the Ascension as a spiritual fact ; so does Paul ; but the only pictorial account is that of Acts. In the Pāli legend, the hero is Dabbo the Mallian, a disciple of Buddha's who had extraordinary psychical powers. The Book of Discipline tells us that he was able to light the monks to bed by emit-

(3) Or, *past into Nirvāṇa*, as above. It is a special word, only used for the death of an Arahāt.

(4) The doubt thrown upon this line in the margin of the Revised Version of 1881 was dispelled when the Sinai Syriac was found. See also Luke IX. 51.

ting magnetic flames from his fingers (S. B. E., Vol. XX., p. 7.) The doctrine of the Ascension, however, is closely allied to that of the Resurrection. The central idea of the Ascension is not that of a bodily ascent into heaven, but a sublimation of the physical into the spiritual, answering to Hamlet's prayer :

"Oh, that this too, too solid flesh would melt !"

It may also be regarded as a substitution of a psychical body for a physical one. The latter was Paul's doctrine, but Jewish or Roman materialism changed it into a fleshly resurrection and Ascension.

90. THE GOSPEL IS PREACHT IN
THE SPIRITUAL WORLD.

Matthew XXVIII. 18.

And Jesus came to them and spake unto them, saying: All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth.

1 Peter III. 19, 20.

In the spirit.....he went and preacht unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved thru water.

1 Peter IV. 6.

For unto this end was the gospel preacht even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.

Numerical Collection IV. 33.

When a Tathāgato arises in the world, an Arahāt, a Buddha supreme, endowed with wisdom in conduct, auspicious, knowing the universe, a matchless charioteer of men who are tamed, a Master of angels and mortals, a blessed Buddha; he preaches his religion: to wit, Personality (*Sakkayo*), the origin of personality, the cessation thereof, and the path

that unto that cessation goes. And, monks, those angels of long life, self-radiant happy beings, abiding in the lofty mansions long, when they hear the preaching of the Tathāgato's religion, are everywhere seized with fear, astonishment and trembling, saying: "Impermanent are we, alas! O friend, 'tis said; and we thought we were permanent; unstable, and we deemed we were stable; non-eternal, who thought ourselves eternal. 'Tis said, O friend, that we are impermanent, unstable, non-eternal, hedged about with personality!"

Such, O monks, is the spiritual power of the Tathāgato over the angel-world; such his great authority and mystic might.

In the Middling Collection, Dialog 49 (No. 78 in Chinese), Gotamo transports himself to the heaven of Brahmā to convert an angel there from the heresy that his blest abode is everlasting. There is also a story found in the Sanskrit Divyāvadāna, and other uncanonical sources,⁽¹⁾ of Buddha going to the other world to preach the Gospel to his mother. It is alluded to in the Pāli of Jātaka 29, and told in full in No. 483, but only in the commentary, not in the text. I will thank any scholar to find or locate it in the Canon.

(1) I do not call the Divyāvadāna uncanonical merely because it is not in the Pāli Canon, but because it is post-Asokan. However, it doubtless contains a nucleus which we may call semi-canonical, for the Avadānas were clast by several sects in the Miscellaneous Piṭaka, outside the great Collections or Āgamas.

**91. ANGELS WORSHIP THE LORD
AND ARE SAVED BY HIM.**

Hebrews I. 6.

When he again bringeth in the firstborn into the world he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.

Revelation V. 8-14.

When he had taken the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having each one a harp, and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints. And they sing a new song, saying, Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests; and they reign upon the earth. And I saw, and I heard a voice of many angels round about the throne and the living creatures and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a great voice, Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honor, and glory and blessing. And every created thing which is in the heaven, and

on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are in them, heard I saying, Unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing, and the honor, and the glory and the empire, for ever and ever. And the four living creatures said, Amen. And the elders fell down and worshipt.

I Peter I. 12.

Not unto themselves, but unto you, did they minister these things, which now have been announced unto you thru them that preacht the Gospel unto you by the Holy Ghost sent forth from heaven ; which things angels desire to look into.

I Peter III. 22.

Who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven ; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him.

Matthew XXVII. 52, 53.

The tombs were opened ; and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised ; and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many.

For Ephesians III. 8-11, see new translation below.

91. ANGELS WORSHIP THE LORD AND ARE SAVED BY HIM

Long Collection, Dialog No. 4. (C. T. 22.)

Translated by Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha*,
1899, p. 149.

Indeed, sirs, many thousands of heavenly beings have gone to the philosopher Gotamo for a refuge.....Many angels and mortals are believers in the philosopher Gotamo; and in whatsoever village or town he abides, there demons do mortals no harm.

Ibid., Dialog. 20. (C. T. 19.)

Translated by Gogerly, *apud* Grimblot: *Sept Suttas Palis*:
1876, p. 289.

THUS HAVE I HEARD. At one season the Lord was staying among the Sākyaas at Kapilavatthu, in the Great Wood, together with a great society of monks, some five hundred in number, all of them Arahats; and the angels from the ten-thousand world-systems were assembled all together for the purpose of seeing the Lord and his society of monks.

As in *Job*, the Evil One comes with them; and as in the Second Book of Kings, the prophet opens the eyes of his followers to see the invisible host.

Long Collection, Dialogs 18 and 19. (C. T. 4 and 3.)

(Translated from the Siam edition.)

Those angels, Lord, who have lived the religious life with the Lord, when newly born

in the [angelic] body(1) of the Thirty-three, outshine the other angels in brilliance and glory. Therefore, Lord, the angels of the Thirty-three are enraptured, rejoiced and become delighted and glad, saying: "The angelic bodies are being perfected; the demon-bodies are passing away." [Or, "The angelic ranks are being filled, and the ranks of the devils (*asuras*) are being thinned."] And then, Lord, Sakko, the ruler of the angels, seeing the satisfaction of the angels of the Thirty-three, rejoices in these stanzas :

Ah, friend ! the angels rejoice,
 Even the Thirty-three and their ruler,
 Worshiping the Tathāgato
 And the goodness of his Doctrine,
 When they see the new angels
 Brilliant and glorious
 Who the religious life with the Auspicious
 One
 Have lived, and hither come.
 They outshine the others
 In brilliance and glory—
 The disciples of the Greatly Wise One,
 Who here arrive at distinction.
 Seeing this; the angels of the Thirty-three
 Are glad with their ruler,
 Worshiping the Tathāgato
 And the goodness of his Doctrine.

(1) Or, *host*; and so thruout.

Numerical Collection VI. 34. (S. P. in Saṃyukta.). (1)

At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatti, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And in the mind of St. Moggallāno the Great, who was in privacy and retirement, there arose the following reflection : "What kind of angels have the knowledge that they have entered on the Path, are not liable to suffering hereafter, but are steadfast, and assured of final Enlightenment ?" Now at that season there was a monk named Tisso who had just died, and had risen again in a certain sphere of the Brahmā-world. And even there they recognized him thus : "Tisso the Brahmā is great in psychical and magical power." Then St. Moggallāno the Great, as quickly as a strong man can stretch forth his bent arm or his outstretcht arm bend back, vanisht from the Conqueror's Grove and appeared in the world of the Brahmās. And Tisso the Brahmā saw him coming from afar, and said to him : "Come, O honorable Moggallāno ; welcome, O honorable Moggallāno ! For a long time you have made this journey of coming hither. Be seated, O honorable Moggallāno : this seat is made ready." So St. Moggallāno sat on the seat made ready, and Tisso the Brahmā saluted him respectfully and sat on one side. Then St. Moggallāno

(1) This text corresponds to the Pāli Classified Collection LV. 18. (Siam edition Vol. V. pp. 351-352). (A. M.)

spake thus unto Tisso the Brahmā as he sat :
“Tisso, what kind of angels have the knowledge that they have entered on the Path, are not liable to suffering hereafter, but steadfast and assured of final Enlightenment ?”

“O honorable Moggallāno, the angels of the Four Great Kings have this assurance.”

“All of them, Tisso ?”

“Not all of them, O honorable Moggallāno. Those of them who are not endowed with faith in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order, and are not endowed with noble and pleasing conduct, have not this knowledge and assurance. But those who are endowed with faith in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order, and are endowed with noble and pleasing conduct, have this knowledge and assurance.”

[The same question and answer are repeated for the other five spheres of the angel-world (*devaloko*)].

Then St. Moggallāno the Great, being glad and rejoiced at the speech of Tisso the Brahmā, vanished from the world of the Brahmās, as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent arm or his outstretched arm bend back, and appeared at the Conqueror's Grove.

This is a doctrine of the Epistles, the Apocalypse and the Fathers rather than of the Gospels, wherein, however, it finds some support, especially from the passage in Matthew. In the First Epistle of Peter, the Descent into Hades is to the disobedient, not to the righteous; but Ignatius, Irenæus and the Gospel of Nicodemus represent the Lord as going thither to save patriarchs and prophets, which is perhaps an expansion of Matthew's legend about the saints rising bodily from the grave after Christ's resurrection, or perhaps founded upon language address to Peter according to the lost ending of the original Mark, traces of which appear among early Christian writings. (See Paul Rohrbach: *Schluss des Markusevangeliums*: Berlin, 1894). Peter also says, in his Epistle, that angelic potentates were made subject unto Christ. Eusebius, translating a Syriac document of the third century, has: "He descended alone, but rose again with many unto his Father." But the most remarkable parallel, in the New Testament itself, to the Buddhist doctrine of the Lord and his Church evangelizing the angels, is in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. As the force of the text is marred in our translation by its occurring in a long rhetorical sentence, I venture to re-translate the essential matter thus:

Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to evangelize the nations with the unsearchable riches of the

Christ.....to the intent that the manifold wisdom of God might now be PUBLISHT UNTO THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE AUTHORITIES IN THE HEAVENLY [REGIONS] BY MEANS OF THE CHURCH, according to the purpose of the Eons which [God] made in Christ Jesus our Lord. (Eph. III. 8-11).

This reminds us of the oft-repeated Buddhist text, which occurs more than once in our present translations: What he has realized by his own supernal knowledge he publishes to this universe, with its angels, its fiends and its arch-angels, &c.

Angelic worship of the Christ is set forth in that sublimest chapter of the Apocalypse, wherein the heaven of the Old Testament is transformed, in the twinkling of an eye, into the heaven of the New, as the angels sing praises to the Divine Human with the same pean sung formerly to the terrible Jehovah. (Rev. V. 12, compared with IV. 11). It is the same, yet not the same, for physical, or realized, wealth and might are added to abstract power.

**92. THE PRINCE OF THIS WORLD :
PESSIMISM.**

John XII. 31.

Now is the judgment of this world : now
shall the prince of this world be cast out.

John XIV. 30, 31.

I will no more speak much with you, for
the prince of the world cometh : and he hath
nothing in me ; but that the world may know
that I love the Father, and as the Father gave
me commandment, even so I do. Arise, let
us go hence.

Matthew VI. 10.

Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on
earth. [Omitted in the parallel of Luke XI. 2,
according to the third-century testimony of Origen.]

Book of Temptations, Husbandman Chapter.

Translated into German by Windisch : *Māra und Buddha*,
1895, p. 104.

[While Gotamo is discoursing at Sāvatti
upon Nirvāṇa, Māro appears as a husbandman,
and says :]

“Philosopher, have you seen any oxen?”

“O Evil One, what hast thou to do with
oxen?”

“O philosopher, mine alone is the eye, forms are mine; mine the realm of consciousness whereto the eye admits. Whither, philosopher, canst thou go to be releast from me? Mine, too, philosopher, are sounds; the ear is mine, and the realm of consciousness whereto the ear admits. Mine likewise are the nose and its scents, the tongue and its tastes, the body and its touch. Mine alone, O philosopher, is the mind, mine the ideas (*dhammā*) and mine the realm of consciousness whereto the mind admits. Whither, O philosopher, canst thou go to be releast from me?”

Buddha admits all this, but says that Māro's misfortune is where these do not exist. Compare also the expressions, realm of Māro, in *Sutta-Nipāto* 764; and army of Māro, in the same book, 437. The said army includes gain, fame, honor, &c.

Classified Collection XXIII. 11. (C. T. in *Saṃyukta*).

Place: Sāvattī. St. Rādhō, sitting on one side, said unto the Lord: “Lord, men speak of Māro: what is Maro?”

“O Rādhō, form is Māro; sensation is Māro; perception is Māro; the formative activities are Māro; consciousness is Māro. Seeing thus, O Rādhō, the learned and noble disciple is disgusted with form, with sensation, with perception, the formative activities and consciousness.”

Here we have the root of pessimism : the doctrine that the world-ruler is an evil power. All the texts that we might adduce about the woes of life would be mere corollaries to this central thesis. Huxley, in his Romanes Lecture (1893) contended that the whole ethical system was in defiance of the world-ruler, and that his lecture was an orthodox sermon on the text : "The Devil the Prince of this world." The clause in the Lord's Prayer implies that not God's, but Some One Else's Will, is done on earth. It is the perception of this evil inherent in the universe that gives rise to the parallel doctrines of Transmigration and Original Sin. Both theories represent our animal heredity—the incubus or nightmare of the past. From this nightmare the Divine Man redeems us.

It is probable that the Pessimism of the New Testament is not Jewish, but Zoroastrian or even Buddhist. In Mark's simple account of the Temptation, the Devil is no world-ruler offering the Lord material empire, but merely the chieftain of invisible evil powers. All the texts quoted on p. 187 belong to the later strata of the Gospel tradition. However, in the earliest teaching there is a Mazdean element which goes back to Daniel, and includes the idea of the coming of God's kingdom. (See above, pp. 158, 159.)

93. THE PSYCHICAL BODY.

I Corinthians XV. 44.

It is sown a natural [literally, psychical] body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual [body.]

Long Collection, Dialog No. 2. (C. T., N. C. 593.)(1)

Translated by Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha*,
1899, p. 87.

He [i. e. the philosopher] calls up the mental image of a mind-made body, and constrains his heart, saying: "I constrain myself." From this body he calls up the mental image of another body, having form, mind-made, complete with all its limbs and faculties.

In *Dirgha* No. 9 (No. 28 in Chinese) we read of three bodies: the material, the mind-made, and the formless. It is possible that Paul's psychical body corresponds to the second of these, and his spiritual body to the third; but it is commonly held that the psychical body is the natural or physical.

(1) Cf. *Dirgha* 27. This version omits all similes and therefore this passage also. (A. M.).

94. APPARITIONS OF THE DEPARTED.

Luke XXIV. 13-35.

And behold, two of them were going that very day to a village named Emmaus, which was threescore furlongs from Jerusalem. And they communed with each other of all these things which had happened. And it came to pass, while they communed and questioned together, that Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What communications are these that ye have one with another, as ye walk? And they stood still, looking sad. And one of them, named Cleopas, answering said unto him, Dost thou alone sojourn in Jerusalem and not know the things which are come to pass there in these days? And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people: and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him. But we hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel. Yea and beside all this, it is now the third day since these things came to pass. Moreover certain women of our company amazed us, having been early at the tomb;

and when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them that were with us went to the tomb, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not. And he said unto them, O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going: and he made as tho he would go further. And they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is now far spent. And he went in to abide with them. And it came to pass, when he had sat down with them to meat, he took the bread, and blest it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanisht out of their sight. And they said one to another, Was not our heart burning within us, while he spake to us in the way, while he opened to us the scriptures? And they rose up that very hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they rehearst the things [that

happened] in the way, and how he was known of them in the breaking of the bread.

Acts XXVI. 12-19.

As I journeyed to Damascus with the authority and commission of the chief priests, at midday, O king, I saw on the way *a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me* and them that journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice saying unto me in the Hebrew language, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy feet: for to this end have I appeared unto thee, to appoint thee a minister and a witness both of the things wherein thou hast seen me, and of the things wherein I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me. Wherefore, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.

Revelation I. 16.

His countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

[Apparition of the risen Jesus to John.]

Middling Collection, Dialog 143. (C. T. 28.)(1)

Sāriputto, Buddha's chief disciple, has been preaching to the great benefactor of the Order, Anāthapindiko, during the latter's last illness.

When this was said, the householder Anāthapindiko wept and shed tears. And St.

(1) In the Chinese Middling Collection, Āriputra does not accompany Ānando when he visits the householder Anāthapindada. So the passage translated here is wanting in the Chinese. Instead of the passage the Chinese adds the story and verses of the Pali Samyutta X. 8, *Sudatto*, as the householder's recollection of his conversion. The text tells further how the householder having been converted to the faith in Buddha has taken Āriputra to Āravastī and how the Garden of the Prince Jeta was dedicated to Buddha and his Saṅgha. The Sūtra concludes with the expression of the householder's gratitude toward Āriputra and his joy that he was delighted with the latter's presence at his sick bed.

On the other hand the two Chinese Samyukta versions (N. C. No. 544 and No. 546) put the text corresponding to the Pali Samyutta II. 2. 10., *Anāthapindiko*, after the text corresponding to the aforesaid *Sudatto*; and one of them (No. 546) adds at the beginning of it the story of the *Majjhima Anāthapindiko* in short. Therefore the text of N. C. No. 546, makes up just what the author has done here. But there too there is no mention of Ānando, and the first part of the passage here translated is wanting. (A. M.)

Ānando said unto him: "Householder, do you assent and unite?"

"Lord Ānando, I do not assent or unite. For a long time have I visited the Master and also an educated monk; but no such religious discourse has ever been heard by me before."

"No such religious discourse, O householder, is revealed unto white-stoled householders: it is revealed unto hermits (*pabbajita*)."

"Then let it be revealed, O Lord Sāriputto, unto white-stoled householders. For there are gentlemen born with but little stain, who are perishing thru not hearing the religion: they will be understanders thereof.

Then St. Sāriputto and St. Ānando, having instructed the householder with the foregoing instruction, arose and departed. (2) And not long thereafter the householder Anāthapindiko, upon the dissolution of the body after death, rose again in the [heavenly] host of Delight (*Tusitā*). AND THEN THE SPIRIT (*devaputto*) OF ANĀTHAPINDIKO, WHEN NIGHT WAS WANING, LIGHTED UP THE ENTIRE VICTOR'S GROVE WITH SURPASSING SPLENDOR, AND DREW NIGH UNTO THE LORD. HAVING DONE SO, HE GAVE HIM REVERENT GREETING AND

(2) Here begins the agreement with the Chinese given in the Tōkyō edition. (A. M.)

STOOD ASIDE. SO STANDING, THE SPIRIT OF ANĀTHAPINDIKO ADDRESS THE LORD IN STANZAS, SAYING:—(3)

“This happy Victor’s Grove,
Frequented by the Prophet’s Church,
And dwelt in by Religion’s King,
Produces joy for me.
Works, wisdom and religion,
Ethics, the highest life,—
Hereby are mortals pure,
And not by clan or wealth.
Therefore indeed a learned man,
Seeing his own goal clearly,
Must search religion well.
Thus therein is he purified.(4)
Sāriputto, alone understanding it,
By ethics and by quietude,
Was the monk who reacht the farther
shore :
So let him be supreme.”

Thus spake the spirit of Anāthapindiko.
The Master was assenting; whereupon the
spirit said : “The Master assents to me,” and,

(3) The passage in large type is the stereotyped form for the narratives in the Books of Apparitions, except that the phrase, in stanzas, becomes in a stanza, when only one verse is spoken, and is omitted altogether when the speech is in prose. The expression, when night was waning, implies a vigil. See Parallel No. 21.

(4) The four padas in Pali, *tasmā.....visujjhati* (therefore.....purified) are not found in both Chinese versions. (A. M.)

saluting the Lord, he kept Him on his right hand, and straightway vanisht. Then the Lord, at the end of that night, address the monks and said: "To-night, monks, a certain spirit, when the night was waning, lighted up the entire Victor's Grove with surpassing splendor and drew nigh unto me. Having done so, he gave me reverent greeting and stood aside. So standing, the spirit address me in stanzas, saying:—

'This happy Victor's Grove,' &c. [repeated.]

This is what the spirit said, O, monks, adding: 'The Master assents to me'; whereupon he saluted me, and keeping me on his right hand, straightway vanisht."

When this was spoken, St. Ānando said unto the Lord: "*Lord, this must be the spirit of Anāthapindiko: the householder Anāthapindiko was converted by Sāriputto.*"(5)

"'Tis well, Ānando, 'tis well. Thus much, Ānando, is attainable by reason, and has been attained by thee. That was the spirit of Anāthapindiko and no other, O Ānando."

Thus spake the Lord. St. Ānando, rejoicing, was gladdened by the utterance of the Lord.

The story of Anāthapindiko's apparition is repeated in the second Book of Apparitions in the

(5) Alluding to the eulogy of Sāriputto in the stanzas.

Classified Collection. There are two Books of Apparitions, and they stand at the very outset of this great Collection. The first one is about apparitions of anonymous spirits, who are called *devatā*, and the book the *Devatā-Samyuttam*. The second book is about apparitions of known persons whose spirits are called *devaputtā*, and the book the *Devaputta-Samyuttam*. The spirits are sometimes those of Buddha's former disciples, as Kassapa and Anāthapindiko; in one case, the spirits of philosophers of non-Buddhist sects; and yet again the gods of the Hindū pantheon: Īiva (in Pāli Sivo) and the spirits of the Moon and Sun. Curiously enough, these last two come to Buddha for deliverance from the grasp of Rāhu, the demon of eclipse. The spirit of the Moon is called Candimā (Cando being the Moon). Upon her appeal, Buddha replies :

**Candimā has gone for refuge
Unto the Arahāt Tathāgato :
Rāhu must deliver the Moon :
The Buddhas have compassion on the
world.**

The same thing happens with the Sun-spirit, and in each case deliverance is granted, and Rāhu has to explain himself to Vepacitti, the other High Demon. In the two Chinese versions of the fifth century, the Candimā-sutta is placed in the *Devatā-Samyukta*, instead of in the *Devaputra* ; while the *Suriya-sutta* appears to be wanting altogether.(7)

(7) I owe this information to a manuscript of Anesaki's.

There is no doubt at all that *Anāthapindiko Devaputto* means the spirit of *Anāthapindiko*, in English parlance, and not merely some angel of that name. Ānando recognizes him on account of the fact that Sāriputto, who had converted him when he (*Anāthapindiko*) was dying, was praised in the stanzas uttered by the ghost, while Gotamo endorses the identification. Be it noted, moreover, that Gotamo considers such identification as a piece of common sense (*takko*) and not one of the powers of an Arahāt.

It is significant that there are no records of apparitions of the deceased Buddha. *He* had entered Nirvāṇa and could not reappear. But *Anāthapinaiko*, a lay disciple, had only risen to the Tusitā-heaven, whither Buddha himself had gone before his last incarnation. Therefore *Anāthapindiko* could manifest himself, because his individuality persisted. Tylor shrewdly remarks long ago, in his *Primitive Culture*, that Buddhist nihilism was a piece of metaphysics, and in nowise precluded a highly specialized eschatology. Moreover, it is a favorite expression, in the Pāli Texts, to call denial of the hereafter an impious heresy. (Dīgha 23; Majjhima 41 and 117. Cf. Itivuttaka 49; Dhammapada 176.) It is true that personality perishes at last; but so long as the *ātman* is cherished so long does it persist, in this world again or in some other, whether material or spiritual. And here, again, another pioneer of Tylor's time correctly interpreted the Buddhist doctrine from such books as Spence

Hardy's *Manual*, which was for thirty years the standard work on Buddhism in Europe. I refer to the following passage in Draper's *Conflict between Religion and Science* :

"It admits that the idea of personality which has deluded us thru life may not be instantaneously extinguished at death, but may be lost by slow degrees. On this is founded the doctrine of transmigration." (Ed. 4, 1875, p. 122.)

As to this doctrine (now called re-incarnation), which, in the popular mind, is almost synonymous with Buddhism, be it observed that Swedenborg puts his spade under its root in a remarkable passage. (H. H. 256.) Until a greater seer than Swedenborg can destroy this explanation of the subjective phenomenon, upon which alone the belief is founded, it can never enter into the creed of a scientific religionist. Myers also declares that no evidence for it is yet forthcoming.

APPENDIX TO APPARITIONS
OF THE DEPARTED.

To the scholastic mind the association of modern spiritistic phenomena with the venerated ones of Holy Writ appears a sacrilege; but the Society for Psychical Research, founded by a band of scholars at the University of Cambridge in 1882, has given these phenomena a seriousness which they never had before. Just as the facts of courtship in modern life are seldom so poetic as the moonlight of romance—romance founded mostly on the life of simpler times—so, in religion, the same phenomena which occurred at Endor, at Sāvathī, or at Delphi are lowered in our eyes when reported from a drawing-room of to-day. Against all such obstacles to the search for truth the philosopher must unfailingly fight. Suppressing, therefore, the natural distaste of one who prefers the haunted groves of antiquity to the slums of the present, I propose to publish here for the first time *the full narrative* of a modern ghost-story wherein I played a part. The portion of this story already printed by the Society for Psychical Research, and reprinted in the immortal work of Myers, has attracted so much attention that one may reasonably hope for interested readers of the whole. I have told this story probably hundreds of times to my friends since 1885, so that the facts, tho distant, are well fixt in my mind. They were first written down by me in 1887 at the request of Frederic W. H. Myers,

and I still treasure his handwriting, saying to Richard Hodgson: "Edmunds' [s] paper very valuable." It is to be hoped that my original manuscript is extant among the papers of that philosopher, and may some day be used to check the present account, written down in 1903, while reviewing his *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*. (London, 1903.)

A HAUNTED LIBRARY:(8)

an authentic narrative.

By ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

With attestation by John Y. W. MacAlister,
of the Royal Society of Medicine.

I will give in full a case wherein I played a part. It is found at Vol. II, p. 380, of Myers's book, where it is reprinted from the S. P. R. Proceedings for December, 1889. The account was written for

(8) This narrative was originally included in my review of Myers' *Human Personality* [1903], but Richard Hodgson, of Boston, advised me to separate it.

January 6, 1905.

A. J. E.

Myers in 1888. My own account was written for him in 1887, but it was principally concerned with auditory phenomena which occurred in the year after the apparition here described. Moreover, its personal allusions made it undesirable for print. Even now I am requested to preserve the anonymities(9), tho for my own part I consider that events of public importance become public property twenty years after their occurrence. The "Mr. J.," who will now speak, is well known to librarians all over the world: J. is the initial of his first name. In the case of his assistant, Mr. R., the initial is that of the surname. Q. and X. are complete disguises.

Myers, in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research : December, 1889.

From this savage scene I pass to a similar incident which occurred to a gentleman personally known to me (and widely known in the scientific world), in a tranquil and studious environment. The initials here given are not the true ones.

XIII.(10) On October 12th, 1888, Mr. J. gave me *vivâ voce* the following account of his experience in the X. Library, in 1884, which I have taken down from memory next day, and which he has revised and corrected :—

In 1880 I succeeded a Mr. Q. as librarian of the X. Library. I had never seen Mr. Q., nor any photograph or likeness of him, when the following incidents occurred. I may, of course,

(9) See, however, the note at the end.

(10) I. e. the thirteenth case discust in the article of Myers on Apparitions. A. J. E.

have heard the library assistants describe his appearance, tho I have no recollection of this. I was sitting alone in the library one evening late in March, 1884, finishing some work after hours, when it suddenly occurred to me that I should miss the last train to H., where I was then living, if I did not make haste. It was then 10.55, and the last train left X. at 11.05. I gathered up some books in one hand, took the lamp in the other, and prepared to leave the librarian's room, which communicated by a passage with the main room of the library. As my lamp illumined this passage, I saw apparently at the further end of it a man's face. I instantly thought a thief had got into the library. This was by no means impossible, and the probability of it had occurred to me before. I turned back into my room, put down the books and took a revolver from the safe, and, holding the lamp cautiously behind me, I made my way along the passage—which had a corner, behind which I thought my thief might be lying in wait—into the main room. Here I saw no one, but the room was large and encumbered with bookcases. I called out loudly to the intruder to show himself several times, more with the hope of attracting a passing policeman than of drawing the intruder. Then I saw a face looking round one of the bookcases. I say looking *round*, but it had an odd appearance as if the *body* were *in* the bookcase, as the face came so closely to the edge and I could see no body. The face was pallid and hairless, and the orbits of the eyes were very deep. I advanced towards it, and as I did so I saw an old man with high shoulders seem to *rotate* out of the end of the bookcase, and with

his back towards me and with a shuffling gait walk rather quickly from the bookcase to the door of a small lavatory, which opened from the library and had no other access. I heard no noise. I followed the man at once into the lavatory; and to my extreme surprise found no one there. I examined the window (about 14. in. x 12 in.,) and found it closed and fastened. I opened it and lookt out. It opened into a well, the bottom of which, ten feet below, was a sky-light, and the top open to the sky some twenty feet above. It was in the middle of the building and no one could have dropt into it without smashing the glass nor climbed out of it without a ladder, but no one was there. Nor had there been anything like time for a man to get out of the window, as I followed the intruder instantly. Completely mystified, I even lookt into the little cupboard under the fixt basin. There was nowhere hiding for a child, and I confess I began to experience for the first time what novelists describe as an "eerie" feeling.

I left the library, and found I had mist my train.

Next morning I mentioned what I had seen to a local clergyman who, on hearing my description, said, "Why, that's old Q.!" Soon after I saw a photograph (from a drawing) of Q., and the resemblance was certainly striking. Q. had lost all his hair, eyebrows and all, from (I believe) a gunpowder accident. His walk was a peculiar, rapid, high-shouldered shuffle.

Later inquiry proved he had died at about the time of year at which I saw the figure.

I have no theory as to this occurrence, and have never given special attention to such mat-

ters. I have only on one other occasion seen a phantasmal figure. When I was a boy of ten I was going in to early dinner with my brothers. My mother was not at home, and we children had been told that she was not very well, but tho we mist her very much, were in no way anxious about her. Suddenly I saw her on the staircase. I rusht up after her, but she disappeared. I cried to her and called to the rest, "There's mother!" But they only laught at me and bade me come in to dinner. On that day—I am not sure as to the hour—my second sister was born.

I have had no other hallucinations. When I saw the figure of X. I was in good health and spirits.

In a subsequent letter Mr. J. adds :

I am under a pledge to the X. people not to make public the story in any way that would lead to identity. Of course I shall be glad to answer any private inquiries, and am willing that my name should be given in confidence to *bonâ fide* inquirers in the usual way.

The evidential value of the above account is much enhanced by the fact that the principal assistant in the library, Mr. R., and junior clerk, Mr. P., independently witness a singular phenomenon, thus described by Mr. R. in 1889:—

A few years ago I was engaged in a large building in the —, and during the busy times was often there till late in the evening. On one particular night I was at work along with a junior clerk till about 11 p. m., in the room markt A on the annex sketch. All the lights in the place

had been out for hours except those in the room which we occupied. Before leaving, we turned out the gas. We then lookt into the fire-place, but not a spark was to be seen. The night was very dark, but being thoroly accustomed to the place we carried no light. On reaching the bottom of the staircase (B), I happened to look up; when, to my surprise, the room which we had just left appeared to be lighted. I turned to my companion and pointed out the light, and sent him back to see what was wrong. He went at once and I stood looking thru the open door, but I was not a little astonisht to see that as soon as he got within a few yards of the room the light went out quite suddenly. My companion, from the position he was in at the moment, could not see the light go out, but on his reaching the door everything was in total darkness. He entered, however, and when he returned, reported that both gas and fire were completely out. The light in the daytime was got by means of a glass roof, there being no windows on the sides of the room, and the night in question was so dark that the moon shining thru the roof was out of the question. Altho I have often been in the same room till long after dark, both before and since, I have never seen anything unusual at any other time.

When the light went out my companion was at C. [markt on plan.]

Mr. P. endorses this :

I confirm the foregoing statement.

In subsequent letters Mr. R. says:—

The bare facts are as stated, being neither more nor less than what took place. I have

never on any other occasion had any hallucination of the senses, and I think you will find the same to be the case with Mr. P.

The light was seen *after* the phantom; but those who saw the light were not aware that the phantom had been seen, for Mr. J. mentioned the circumstance only to his wife and to one other friend (who has confirmed to us the fact that it was so mentioned to him), and he was naturally particularly careful to give no hint of the matter to his assistants in the library.

So far the printed accounts. The phantasm of his mother seen by Mr. J. was during her lifetime. He saw her walking upstairs when she was in another house at a distance, and learnt afterwards that at that moment a sister was born to him.⁽¹¹⁾ Mr. J. is a Highlander, and this is only one more instance of the well-known Highland gift.

With regard to the illuminated room, it must be observed that it was a favorite resort of the deceased. It opened on to a gallery in the main hall of the library, and we used to call it "The Infirmary." This was because it was a lumber-room for injured books and for purposes of sorting. When Mr. Q. was alive *he used to sit up there late at night writing articles* for the press. Taken

(11) I was about to suppress this paragraph as repetition of what Mr. McAlister has said; but I let it stand out of regard for truth. It contains one of those unconscious exaggerations so easy to admit into such stories. For this reason it is all the more desirable that my MS. of 1887 should be recovered from the papers of Myers.

together with facts that are to follow, this will become significant, in view of the phantasmal illumination observed by R. and P. When Mr. J. went to X. in 1880 (from a town one hundred miles away) he spent his first week in "The Infirmary," clearing up muddles left by his predecessor. He could not open the door "for a solid buttress of books" (his own words). They lay piled upon the floor awaiting the binder, who had never been called for. The librarian had been too busy with his journalism to attend to this business. Among the neglected books were valuable manuscripts, "the loss of which would have raised a howl from all the antiquarians in — shire." So far I heard the story told by Mr. J. himself to Richard Hodgson in September, 1884, when we three were together among the hills of the county named. Hodgson asked him to write it down for the Society for Psychical Research, which he promised to do.

Parenthetically I may say here that during this visit from Hodgson (who had come to our town to investigate a case of mind-reading for the S. P. R.) he told me of his approaching expedition to India. He was in high spirits, and quite hopeful of confirming for Madame Blavatsky her alleged occult powers. Indeed he had brought in his bag Sinnett's *Occult World*, on purpose to make me read it. He knew that I had read *Esoteric Buddhism* (this was long before my Pāli studies, which began in 1895); and he was determined that I should have the "facts" whereon

the philosophy was based. I can therefore testify that he did not go to India expecting fraud, as some have imagined. Far otherwise. His attitude was entirely judicial, but his secret inclination was to find proof of psychical powers. I first met Hodgson at Sunderland in 1883, when he was an extension lecturer for the Universities of Cambridge and Durham. I remember his saying at one of the lectures that we ought to regard nothing as impossible. As he was deeply imbued with Herbert Spencer, this remark was significant of revolt.

This digression will serve to mark a break in my narrative. The apparition and the spectrally lighted room had been seen in the spring of 1884; Mr. J. told the story to Hodgson and myself in September; and nothing more was thought of them until the following spring. Then, on the afternoon of the first of April, 1885, (*absit omen!*) about four o'clock, I went into the librarian's room, where something strange occurred. Mr. J. was sitting at his usual place at the head of a long table. "Edmunds," said he, "stay here a minute: there is something the matter with this table. It is making a queer noise." I stood still for a moment, and suddenly heard a vibrant sound proceeding from the table, about an arm's length from Mr. J. There was nothing thereon to produce this half bell-like vibration, which sounded something like a tuning-fork when stricken and held to the ear. Now, at that time there was a scare all over England of Irish-American dynamitards. The town-hall

near by was being watcht by the police as a building that was markt. I was personally apprehensive because an anonymous poem⁽¹²⁾ which I had written against the outrages had been reprinted in Ireland, and had called forth a counter-poem and an editorial. "This," said I, "is an infernal machine!" Accordingly I stoopt down beneath the table to examine it. Finding nothing, I placed my ear against the bottom of it, thinking that, if an infernal machine were hidden therein, I should hear it tick. The moment my ear toucht the wood, the vibrant sound thrilled thru me quite piercingly. I sprang to my feet in the sudden remembrance of the story told in September, and exclaimed: "This has got something to do with old Q.!" Just then Mr. R. came in, who had seen the illuminated room. *He was the only member of the staff who had workt under Q.* "R," said I, standing beside him, "let us put our hands on the table." We both laid our fingers lightly thereon, and the moment R. toucht it, the sound came ringing out of his sleeve. Mr. J. and I rusht upon him with one accord, and rolled up his sleeve. Of course there was nothing there, but the impression upon both of us had been simultaneous. I then remembered that Q. had died in the spring, and that haunting phenomena were frequently associated with anniversaries. "Cannot we discover," I askt, "the exact date of Q.'s death?" "Yes," said R.: "old So-and-So down the street

(12) *England's Foes.* (*English and American Poems.* Philadelphia, 1888.)

can tell us." A messenger was dispatcht, and returned with the news that *Mr. Q. had died on the first of April, 1880, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon.*

I then put another question: "R., when Q. was alive, was there any sound that you were accustomed to hear in this library that at all resembled this?" (The sound had already been repeated in R.'s presence.) "Yes," he replied, "there was. Upon that spot on the table whence this sound appears to proceed, there used to stand an old crackt gong, and when Q. wanted one of us boys he used to strike it, and it sounded like what we hear." *Thus, upon the fifth anniversary, to the very hour, of the old man's death, a phantasmal bell reminded us of his presence.* Taken together with the lighted room of the former year, this is significant. It reminds one of the statement of Swedenborg, that in the unseen world there is a duplicate of everything here. There is an ideal London, said that Seer, wherethru the departed citizen walks before he is prepared for loftier mansions.

So far all may have proceeded from suggestion. Mr. J., the sceptic may hold, had heard an imaginary sound and expected me to hear it. I obliged him, and in turn suggested that R. should hear it. R., being a glib liar, had extemporized the story of the old bell, and the messenger had been instructed to bring the news we wanted. But subsequent phenomena will make this explanation hard.

R. and I agreed to meet that evening in the

librarian's room at eight o'clock. He arrived there first, and I found him sitting alone. "Have you heard anything?" I askt. "Only rappings on the sky-light." Another assistant soon joined us. He was a believer in spiritism, whereas R. was a conventional British Philistine, with no original convictions, but the usual mixture of orthodoxy and materialism. For myself, I had seen something of the phenomena of spiritism, but had given them up as trivial and unsatisfying. However, I believed in their genuineness, in spite of much fraud, but cared only about those of a mental nature, like clairvoyance. Born in 1857, I was, at the time of this séance, in my 28th year; R. was 21; and the third man about the same age. We sat down together at the table, and placed our hands thereon. None of us claimed mediumship, and indeed what followed was a surprise. In a few moments we heard loud thumps proceeding from behind the books that lined the walls. The thumps came from the wall that divided the librarian's room from the lavatory whereinto the ghost had vanisht in 1884. Now, the janitor was on the premises, and, had he known that we were expecting some noises, he might have entered the lavatory and produced them. But he could not have knockt in answer to our questions thru a wall and a book-case, for I sat at the opposite end of the room to the wall that was being struck. Moreover, subsequent phenomena took place when the janitor was not on the premises, as we shall see. I began the conversation by say-

ing: "If any intelligent being is making these noises, let him count seven!" Seven thumps were the reply. "Now," said I, "we are going to ask you some questions. If you mean to answer Yes, give three knocks; if No, give one knock; if you are doubtful, knock twice. I will now repeat the alphabet, and I want you to knock at each letter of your name.—A, B, C, D, E, F," etc. When I came to Q there was a thump. I repeated the alphabet again, and — was stricken. The third time gave us —; the fourth, —; and the fifth, —. Then I became impatient, and askt: "Is the name Q——?" Three thumps affirmed it. "Do we understand that you are the deceased librarian?" "Yes." "Have you anything on your mind that you wish to divulge?" "Yes." "Have you done something wrong?" "Yes." "Is it anything to do with finances?" A loud thump gave an indignant *No*. I learnt later, however, that Mr. Q.'s accounts were disorderly when he died. So much so, that Mr. J., who was the soul of honor, was subjected to an offensive surveillance, for his predecessor's misdeeds. I now thought what wrong thing a librarian might do, and at last inquired: "Did you ever give away books belonging to this library to your personal friends?" "Yes." "Will you tell us the names of those friends?" "No." "Will you tell them to the head librarian?" "Yes." I then askt the invisible one whether he had believed in a future life when on earth, and he said no. Mr. R. broke silence by confirming this: the deceased

had been a materialist. Was he unhappy? I inquired. Yes. Would he prefer extinction to his present lot? Yes. Was he aware that some people maintained that he was only a cast-off shell of the soul, and was destined to perish? Yes. Such was our conversation. I told him we would pray for him, and so the *séance* closed. My two companions were amazed at the whole affair, especially the Philistine, whose learned comment was: "Rather rum!" ("Rum" is English slang for *queer*.)

Next day I told Mr. J. what had happened, and he bade me repeat it to the Unitarian minister to whom he had confided his own experience of the former spring. "You see," said Mr. J., "he may think there is something wrong" (touching his head), "and you will keep me in countenance!" I did so, and also told the story to George Hudson, a white-lead merchant, who, in his youth, had investigated spiritism when it was fashionable in London. He had "sat" with Serjeant Cox and the Countess of Caithness, and had seen extraordinary things. Indeed he claimed that he had been converted from rank materialism by hard facts. His favorite saying was: "You shouldn't believe: you should know." And he *knew* there was a future life. He had held a medium with his hands, and seen an ectoplastic form indisputably separate, he said.

Well, George Hudson, a certain lawyer, and Mr. J. went to the library one night soon afterwards, to find out what they could. I was invited, but de-

clined. Hudson and J. were my intimate friends, but the lawyer had the air of not wanting me. I wish now that I had gone. Hudson described to me what occurred. Never, said he, in all his experiences with professional mediums, had he seen anything to compare with the manifestations of that night. He had seen a double row of wine-glasses, along the middle of a room, strike together by invisible agency and produce exquisite music. But neither this nor ectoplastic phantoms could compare with what those three were witness of. The reason was that no "conditions" were given: they did not join hands, they did not place hands on the table; they did not sing, as spiritists often do; they did not sit passive: they merely smoked their cigars round the fire for an evening chat. Suddenly there were rappings on the table, on the floor, behind the books, and everywhere. The head librarian, being present, had sent the janitor away, and made sure that the premises were clear. We assistants had not been able to do this. The three witnesses were not content with mere yes and no, as we had been: the lawyer demanded severe proof, and laboriously repeated thru the alphabet, writing down letter after letter that was stricken. In this way they took two hours to discover what we had done in twenty minutes. The letters fell into intelligible sentences and conveyed the same information: that the deceased had something to divulge which he would communicate to no one save the head librarian alone. At one point in the

inquiry Mr. Hudson, who had been a past director of the library (and therefore an employer of deceased) address the ghost very familiarly: "Look here, old man, you know that your accounts were all wrong when you died!" A perfect thunderstorm of knocks and thumps declared his indignation. When obstinate silence refused to answer more, the lawyer said: "Gentlemen, this thing must never be known in X. It must be husht up at once. There are women in this town who would never set foot in this library again. Mr. J., you must instruct all your assistants to say no more about it." This was done, and silence was enjoined upon us. The phantasmal bell, however, continued to sound, and did so thruout the month of April. It was heard again and again in broad daylight by every member of the staff, down to the janitor. The story got out, and one day a youth of fashion brought two ladies in a chaise to see the ghost! Mr. J. exprest astonishment: "You, a nineteenth-century young man, believe in ghosts! I don't know what you mean." He simply lied and denied knowledge of the whole affair. At last I appealed to him to go alone and listen to the secret. "Edmunds," he said, looking sadly and fixedly at me, "I have suffered enough from that man's misdeeds, and if he's in hell he deserves to be!"

This was the last. I left X on May 10, 1885. Returning for a short time in the summer, I found nothing new, and on August 28, I sailed from

Glasgow to New York, and have never since been back to Britain.

[ATTESTATION].

I have read the foregoing and it seems to me a remarkably accurate and detailed account of what occurred.

J. Y. W. MACALISTER,
New York, 10 Sept., 1903.

When Mr. MacAlister met me in New York, as implied in the foregoing attestation, he gave me permission to disclose his name, but bade me preserve the other anonymities.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Philadelphia :
January 6, 1905.

The events narrated here by J. Y. W. MacAlister were first written down, quite independently by me, in the manuscript mentioned (1887). Mr. MacAlister wrote in 1888 in London, while I had written from Pennsylvania. Hence, if my original account could be recovered from the Myers papers, it would act as a check upon our two memories, and every detail wherein we agreed would be equivalent to a contemporary document. We parted in August, 1885, and did not correspond about the events narrated, or in any way influence each other's accounts.

Nothing has been altered in the above account as written in 1903 except the spelling; the date

December, 1889, instead of the volume and page of the S. P. R. extract ; a grammatical alteration of two words ; a blank for the name of the English county ; the letter Q. on p. 209, instead of the true initial, together with blanks for the succeeding four letters of the first syllable of deceast's name ; the date 1903 supplied once in brackets ; and the name Royal Society of Medicine, formerly known as the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society. In the account as written by me in the spring of 1903, before I dreamt of meeting Mr. MacAlister in the fall, I had "rope merchant" as the occupation of George Hudson. Mr. MacAlister altered this to white-lead merchant, as at present. When reading my narrative in New York on September 10, 1903, Mr. MacAlister at first failed to recall the incident about the sound emanating from the sleeve of the assistant librarian ; but after sitting in silence for a few seconds he remembered it, remarking that his own memory was smouldering, whereas mine was always on fire — which is certainly true so far as the present story is concerned. Mr. MacAlister also failed to remember the incident about the visitor to whom he uttered an official untruth ; but this is no part of the ghost-story.

A. J. E.

Philadelphia :

November, 1908.

95. AFTER DEATH THE JUDGMENT.

Matthew V. 25, 26.

Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art with him in the way; lest haply the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou have paid the last farthing.

Mark IX. 47, 48.

And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out: it is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quencht.

Luke XVI. 22, 23.

And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom: and the rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.

2 Corinthians V. 10.

For we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ; that each one

may receive the things [done] in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Hebrews IX. 27.

It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this [cometh] judgment.

The famous judgment-scene in Matthew XXV. is of a cosmical judgment: the above parallels are given in preference, because they relate, as does the Pāli, to individuals.

Middling Collection, Dialog 130. (C. T. 64.)

Translated from the King of Siam's edition, but now accessible in Roman letters.

THUS HAVE I HEARD: At one season the Lord was staying at Sāvatti, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And the Lord address the monks, saying: "Monks!"

"Lord!" answered those monks, in reply unto the Lord. The Lord spake thus:

Monks, just as from a house with two doors an observant man standing in the midst can see men entering the dwelling and leaving it, walking about it and thru it: just even so, monks, do I, with eye divine, pure and transcending the human, behold beings vanishing

and rising again—beings base and noble, well-favored and ill-favored, happy and unhappy, according to their works (*kamma*); and I know that those beings possess of good conduct in body, speech and mind, not upbraiding the elect ones, but right believers, incurring the karma of right belief, rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death,—some in the world of weal and paradise, and some among the human; while those beings possess of bad conduct in body, speech and mind, upbraiders of the elect ones, false believers, incurring the karma of false belief, do rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death, either in the realm of ghosts or in the wombs of brutes, or⁽¹⁾ in the damnation, woe and perdition of hell.

Then, monks, the wardens of hell severally take him in their arms, and bring him before King Yamo, saying: "Your Majesty, this soul was undutiful toward friends, philosophers and brahmins, and honored not the elders in his family. Let your Majesty inflict punishment upon him."

[Now follows the story of the Three Messengers, which the reader will find in Warren. The Majjhima, however, has five messengers.]

(1) Warren (*Buddhism in Translations*, 1896, p. 255), translates a parallel text from the Numerical Collection, which here begins to agree, in the main, with our present passage.

Thus saith Yamo the King :

“O soul, thru thoughtlessness thou didst not right in body, speech and mind. Verily, O soul, they shall do to thee according to thy thoughtlessness. Moreover, this wickedness was not done by mother or father, brother or sister, friends or companions, relatives or kinsfolk; neither by philosophers, brahmins or spirits: by thee the wickedness was done, and thou alone shalt feel its consequences.” * * *

Then, O monks, the hell-wardens make him mount and descend a great blazing, flaming, glowing mountain of coal. There doth he feel severe and bitter pains, but dieth not until that wickedness be exhausted.

After the description of the fifth messenger are added some stanzas. The descriptions of the torments are minuter in the Chinese. At the end of the sūtra we find some verses similar to those of the Dhammapada 22 f. (A. M.)

96. FEW THAT ARE SAVED.

Matthew VII. 13, 14.

Enter ye in by the narrow gate: for wide is the gate and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many be they that enter in thereby. For narrow is the gate and straitened the way, that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it.

Luke XIII. 23, 24.

And one said unto him, Lord, are they few that be saved? And he said unto them, Strive to enter in by the narrow door: for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able.

Numerical Collection I. 19.

Monks! just as, in this India, there are only a few pleasant parks, groves, landscapes, and lotus-ponds, but far more of broken ground, impassable rivers, tree-stumps, thorny roads, and rugged rocks: so also, monks! there are few beings who, when vanisht from the human, are born again among humans; but far more who, when vanisht from the human, are born again in hell, in the wombs of brutes or the haunt of ghosts; few who are born among the angels, more who are born as I

97. THE BELOVED DISCIPLE REACHES HEAVEN HERE

have said. And there are few beings, O monks! who, when vanisht from the angelic, are born again among angels, but far more who vanish from the angelic to be born again in hell, in the wombs of brutes or the haunt of ghosts.

**97. THE BELOVED DISCIPLE
REACHES HEAVEN HERE.**

John Appendix (XXI. 22).

If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me.

Cf. Mark IX. 1.

Numerical Collection III. 80.

Udāyi, if Ānando should die with passion unsubdued, yet by his believing heart he would seven times obtain an angelic kingdom among

the angels; and even in this India he would obtain a great kingdom seven times. But, O Udāyi, even in this life will Ānando enter Nirvāṇa.

I owe the finding of this and some other passages to Edmond Hardy's splendid analysis of the Numerical Collection, appended to the last volume of the text, published by the London Pāli Text Society.

98. THE FATE OF THE TRAITOR.

Mark XIV. 21.

For the Son of man goeth, even as it is written of him: but woe unto that man thru whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had not been born.

Matthew XXVII. 5.

And he cast down the pieces of silver into the sanctuary, and departed; and he went away and hanged himself.

Acts I. 18.

Now this man obtained a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gusht out.

Major Section on Discipline, VII. 4.

(C. T., N. C. 1117.)

Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XX. p. 259.

Then and there did hot blood come forth from Devadatto's mouth.

For attempting to take Gotamo's life Devadatto generates a karma that ultimates in this present life (S. B. E. XX. p. 246); but for making schism in the Order he generates an eon-lasting fault (p. 254, and our present work, below.) When one of his partisans informs him that his party is defeated, he vomits blood, as in the text.

In the Christian case, later legend lessened the doom of Judas, as in the story of Papias that Judas walkt about with swollen body; but in the Buddhist case, later legends exaggerated the doom to death on the spot.

99. AN ETERNAL (i. e. EON-LASTING)
SIN.

Mark III. 29.

Whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin.

Minor Section on Discipline, VII. 3.

(C. T., N. C. 1117.)

Translated in S. B. E., XX. p. 254.

“Is it true, Devadatto, as they say, that thou goest about to stir up schism in the Order and schism in our society?” — “It is true, O Lord.” — “Enough, Devadatto. Let not schism in the Order be pleasing unto thee: serious, O Devadatto, is a schism in the Order. Whosoever, Devadatto, divides the Order when it is at peace gives birth to *an eon-lasting fault*, and for an eon he is tormented in hell. But whosoever, Devadatto, makes peace in the Order when it has been divided gives birth to the highest merit (literally, Brahmā-merit), and for an eon he is happy in Paradise.”

The words *αἰώνιον ἁμαρτήμα*, in Mark III. 29, are the exact verbal equivalent of the Pāli *kappatthikam kibbisam*, or, as the Siam edition has it, *kappatthitikam*. The phrase is unique in the New Testa-

ment, and indeed its strangeness, caused the copyists to alter it in early manuscripts, as Dean Alford long since pointed out, in the *apparatus criticus* of his Greek Testament. It was one of these corrupted readings, viz., *eternal damnation*, which was adopted by the King James(1) translators. Our present reading is, says Rendel Harris, the correct one: it is that of the oldest Greek MSS., the Latin Vulgate, and the best modern editors.

Schism is the deadly sin of Buddhism, the other four of its deadly sins being rare deeds of violence—matricide, parricide, saint-murder and wounding a Buddha. The deadly sin of the New Testament is resistance to the Divine operation, while that of the Mazdeans is self-defilement, (S. B. E. Vol. IV., p. 101). The Christian and Buddhist ones are of long retribution, but terminable, for everlasting hell was not generally held by the Jews at the time of Christ, and can hardly be read into the Master's terms. Only the Mazdean uses the language of absolute despair, but if the universalism of the Bundahish be 'a true tradition

(1) S. F. Pells, in his second reprint of Thomson's Septuagint (Hove, 1907, p. xxxvi,) represents me as saying: "the King James's version." Of course I never wrote any such English. The adjectival use of nouns in Aryan languages extends to our own, but when such adjectival nouns end in s, people often become confused, and fancy that the possessive case is being used. Hence such phrases as *King James version*, *Flounders Institute*, *United States mail*, are frequently mangled by the printer inserting an apostrophe, as the Tōkyō edition of this book does in the case before us.

from the lost Dāmdād Nosk, then even this sin is finally forgiven. In Plato's *Phædo*, certain souls *never* come out of Tartarus; but in view of his doctrine of cycles, the literal force of this "never" is annulled. Hell is not everlasting in the Talmud (Tract *Shabbath*, Chap. 2, Rodkinson's translation, p. 58), but retribution is for one year. R. H. Charles has shown, however, that opposing theories were rife among the Jews, but that Jesus taught a terminable punishment.

100. UNIVERSAL SALVATION.

Mark X. 25-27.

It is easier for a camel to go thru a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. And they were astonisht exceedingly, saying unto him, Then who can be saved? Jesus looking upon them saith, With men it is impossible, but not with God: for all things are possible with God.

I Cor. XV. 24-26; 28.

Then [cometh] the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have abolisht all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign, till he hath put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be abolisht is death. * * *

And when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.

Long Collection, Dialog 16. (C. T. 2.)

(Book of the Great Decease. Translated in S. B. E., Vol. XI.
p. 116-117).

All beings in the world, yea, all
Shall lay aside their complex form,
Even as such a Master,
Without a rival in the world,
The Tathāgato, who hath attained unto
power,
Buddha supreme, unto Nirvāṇa goes.

**101. JOY IN HEAVEN OVER GOODNESS
ON EARTH.**

Luke XV. 7.

I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine righteous persons, which need no repentance.

Numerical Collection III. 36.

(C. T. in Ekottara).

Monks, on the eighth day of the fortnight the assembled associates of the Four Great Kings walk thru this world, and say: Are there among men many men who are dutiful to friends, parents, philosophers and priests; who honor the elders in their family, keep the Sabbath and make it observed, and do good deeds?

Monks, on the fourteenth day of the fortnight, the sons of the Four Great Kings walk thru this world and ask the same question.

Moreover, monks, on the fiftieth Sabbath the Four Great Kings themselves walk thru this world and ask the same question.

Monks, if there be among men few men who are dutiful in all these things, the Four Great Kings announce the fact unto the angels of the Thirty-three while sitting assembled in

the beautiful hall of religion, saying: "Your Excellencies, there are among men few men who are dutiful to friends and parents, philosophers and priests; who honor the elders in their family, keep the Sabbath and make it observed, and do good deeds." Then, monks, the angels of the Thirty-three are sad and say: "Ah! the angelic ranks (or, bodies) will be thinned, and the diabolic ranks be replenisht!"

But if, O monks, there be among men many men who are dutiful in all these things, the Four Great Kings announce the fact to the Thirty-three, as before, and the angels of the Thirty-three are glad, saying: "Ah! the angelic ranks will be replenisht, and the diabolic ranks be thinned!"

102. SALVATION BY THE CHURCH.

Acts II. 47.

The Lord added to [the church] daily those that were being saved.

The words, the church, tho a later addition to the text, are implied by the context. I have made my own translation here.

Classified Collection XL. 10. (C. T. in Saṃyukta). (1)

At one season St. Moggallāno the Great was staying at Sāvatti, in the Conqueror's Grove, the cloister-garden of the Feeder-of-the-Poor. And as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent arm or his outstretcht arm bend back, even so St. Moggallāno the Great vanisht from the Conqueror's Grove, and was present among the angels of the Thirty-three.

Now Sakko, the lord of the angels, together with five hundred spirits (*devatā*) approacht St. Moggallāno the Great, and saluting him, stood on one side. And St. Moggallāno the Great spake thus unto Sakko, the lord of the angels, as he so stood:

"Good is it, O lord of the angels, to take refuge in the Buddha. By reason of so doing,

(1) The scene of the story is in the heaven of Indra. (A. M.)

O lord of the angels, there are some beings here who, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born again in the world of weal and paradise.

“Good likewise is it, O lord of the angels, to take refuge in the Doctrine (*Dhammo*). By reason thereof there are some beings here who, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born again in the world of weal and paradise.

“Good is it likewise, O lord of the angels, to TAKE REFUGE IN THE ORDER. BY REASON OF TAKING REFUGE IN THE ORDER THERE ARE BEINGS HERE WHO, UPON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BODY AFTER DEATH, ARE BORN AGAIN IN THE WORLD OF WEAL AND PARADISE.”

The doctrine of salvation by the Church is still further developd in *The Questions of King Milindo*, where we read that Devadatto was saved from everlasting transmigration by joining the Order. Tho salvation is made possible or accelerated by the Church, we must not suppose that Gotamo regarded non-Buddhists as lost. In *Digha* 16 (S. B. E., Vol. XI., p. 107) we read, it is true: Other systems are void of philosophers (*samanos*).

But it is explained that this is because they do not recognize the Noble Eightfold Path (i.e. the necessity of a moral life). *But wherever this is taught there is salvation.* With a like insistence, in

Majjhima 71, Gotamo says that for ninety-one eons he does not remember any naked ascetic going to paradise except one, *and he was a believer in the moral fruition of acts*. Moreover, in a passage from the Numerical Collection, translated on p. 153, we are told that the votaries of other religions are rewarded according to their faithfulness and understanding.

APPENDIX.

UNCANONICAL PARALLELS.

As the present work is intended to be a collection of original documents, second-hand translations would be out of place, and my knowledge of Sanskrit, while sufficient for purposes of verification, is insufficient for translation; while of Chinese I know only the radicals, and of Singhalese and Tibetan, nothing. It is in these languages that many later parallels are found. Pāli commentaries also would yield some, but to these generally I have not access.

A collection of such parallels would probably suggest a Christian influence upon later Buddhism, and indeed we know that, in the eighth century, Chinese emperor had to forbid the two religions to be mixt. (See Takakusu's note in his *I-Tsing*, Oxford, 1896, p. 224.) This whole field needs very careful working, more than I am able to give. Parallels which are uncanonical on the Christian side are also included.

1. IDOLS BOW TO THE INFANT.

Pseudo-Matthew, Chapter 23.

Now it came to pass that when the most blessed Mary, with her little infant, had entered the temple [at Hermopolis in Egypt], all the idols were prostrate on the earth, so that they all lay upon their faces wholly shattered and broken, and so they showed evidently that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: Behold, the Lord shall come upon a light cloud, and shall enter Egypt, and all the handiworks of the Egyptians shall be moved at his presence.

This is alluded to by Athanasius, in his *Incarnation of the Word*. An expanded version of the story is found in the medieval Arabic Infancy Gospel. The presence of Joseph and Mary in a pagan temple is very lamely accounted for by the novelist: he gives Luke's reason for their presence in the stable. But the Buddhist writer's reason for Gotamo's presentation at the tribal shrine is natural enough, and these Oriental Christian romances are probably indebted to India. The Divyāvadāna relates that Asoko was shown the spot where the idols had bowed to the youthful Buddha, and Yuan Chwān, in the seventh century, found a temple at Kapilavastu wherein the god was sculptured in the attitude of rising and bowing, evidently to commemorate the legend. (Watters: *Notes on Yuan Chwang*: London, 1904-1905, Vol. II. p. 13.) Now,

the presence of the story in both the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the Realist Book of Discipline; in the *Mahāvastu*,⁽¹⁾ which is a Discipline document of another sect; in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Lalita Vistara*, is pretty strong evidence that it was a part of the cycle of legends which the sculptures at Bharahat and Sāñci prove to have been developed before the Christian era.

Realist Book of Discipline, Major Section.

Vinaya-vastu, corresponding to the Pāli *Mahāvagga* and the Docetist *Mahāvastu*, Tibetan recension, translated by Rockhill: *Life of Buddha*, London, 1884, p. 17. (Watters, *Notes on Yuan Chwang*, II. 13, vouches for the story's presence in the Chinese version of the same sectarian Vinayo.)

It was the habit of the Ćākyas to make all new-born children bow down at the feet of a statue of the yaksha Ćākyavardana [*Mahāvastu* has: Ćākyavardhana]; so the king took the young child to the temple, but the Yaksha bowed down at his feet.

Lalita Vistara, Chapter 8.

As soon as the future Buddha planted the sole of his right foot in the temple of the gods, the inanimate images of the gods, such as Civa, etc..... all these images, having each arisen from its place, fell down at the future Buddha's feet.

(1) II. 26.

Divyavadāna, p. 391.

Translated by Burnouf, Introd. p. 342 (ed. 1876). Now newly compared with the Sanskrit and translated into English.

This, great King, is the temple of the tutelary god of the Çākyas, and it was to him that the future Buddha was presented immediately after his birth, that he might worship the god. But all the gods fell at the feet of the future Buddha. Then King Çuddhodana cried out: "This future Buddha is a god unto the gods themselves!" Therefore unto the future Buddha was given the name of *God beyond the gods*.

2. THE INFANT KNOWS THE ALPHABET INTUITIVELY.

Gospel of Thomas.

Syriac recension, from MS. of Sæc. VI., edited by Wm. Wright, London, 1865. Present version by B. Harris Cowper: *Apocryphal Gospels*: Ed. 2, London, 1867.

Chap. 6. Zacchæus the teacher said to Joseph, I will teach him what he ought to learn. And he took him into the school. But when he came in he was silent. But Zacchæus the scribe began to say to him from Aleph; and repeated to him all the alphabet many times; and told him to answer and say after him. But he was silent. Then the scribe was angry, and struck him with his hand upon his head. And Jesus said, A blacksmith's anvil, when it is beaten, receives correction, and it does not feel. But I am able to say the things which are spoken by you with knowledge and understanding. The scribe answered and said, He is something great; either he is God or an angel, or — what to say I know not.

Chap. 12. Now Joseph, when he saw that he was clever, wisht to teach him letters, and brought him to the house of a scribe. And the scribe said to him, Say Aleph; and Jesus said it. And the scribe went on that he should say Beth. And Jesus said to him, Tell me first what Aleph is, and then I will tell thee about Beth. And the scribe took and smote him; and forthwith he fell down and died.....

Chap. 13. Now a certain scribe said to Joseph, Hand him over to me, and I will teach him. But

Jesus entered the house of the scribe, and took a volume and read, *not what was written, but great marvels.*

Here we have three accounts, probably all variants of the same story. The conclusion of the third one recalls the sermon in the Lalita Vistara. I give the Syriac because it is the earliest form. The Greek, in the first account, says that he spoke "great allegories of the first letter." The longer Greek version says that Jesus, when Zacchæus had said Alpha three times, askt him: "Thou that knowest not Alpha, how wilt thou teach another the Beta? And the child, beginning at Alpha, said of himself the 22 letters." The Latin Gospel of Thomas, the Arabic Infancy Gospel, and the Pseudo-Matthew, all have the story in various forms. The Latin version of the third form is still nearer to the Lalita Vistara:

And when he had come to the teacher's house, he found a book lying in the place, and he took hold of it and opened it, and did not read what was written in the book, *but opened his mouth and spake by the Holy Spirit and taught the Law.*

A crowd gathers to hear him.

In the Arabic Gospel, the alphabet-learning is immediately followed by the temple scene among the doctors, while in the Syriac only a short snake story separates them. This Arabic sequence is that of the Lalita Vistara: the alphabet-learning and

the lost child found in religious activity are the themes of successive chapters (X & XI.)

Note on the Thomas Gospel.

Irenæus speaks of "an unspeakable multitude of apocryphal and spurious Scriptures," and adduces therefrom the alphabet-learning story thus:—

The Lord, being a child, and learning letters, and his master having bidden him, as the custom is, to say Alpha, he said Alpha. And again the teacher having bidden him to say Beta, the Lord answered, Tell thou me first what is Alpha, and then I will tell thee what is Beta.

Justin Martyr, still earlier in the same century (the second) speaks of Jesus making ploughs and yokes, which are the words of the Thomas Gospel and others. Cyril of Jerusalem ascribes this Gospel to one of the three disciples of Mānī. Now Mānī, as we know, framed a system compounded of Mazdeism and Christianity, while his followers were also accused of Buddhism.

Lalita Vistara, Chapter X.

When the young prince had grown tall, he was then, with a hundred thousand blessings, conducted to the school, surrounded and preceded by ten thousand children. [Then follows the usual extravagant Mahāyāna description of his retinue, his ovation on the way, and the crowds of celestial beings who witness the scene]. Surrounded by such pomp was the future Buddha conducted to

the school. [An angel from the Tusitā heaven addresses his father in stanzas, telling him that his son already knows all learning. The boy takes a sandal-wood tablet, and] speaks thus to Viçvāmitro the teacher :—

“Now, master, what writing wilt thou teach me? The Brahmī? The Kharoshī? * * * The Aṅgī? The Vāṅgī? The Māgadhī? * * * The Drāvidian? The Kināri? The writing of the Dekhan? * * * Of China? Of the Huns?” * * * [and so forth, unto sixty-four kinds of writing.]

“Now, master, of these sixty-four writings, which wilt thou teach me?” Then Viçvāmitro, the teacher of children, astonished and with smiling face, rising above haughtiness and pride, recited this stanza :—

“Astonishing” [&c.] * * *

Thus, monks, did ten thousand children learn writing with the future Buddha. Then, by the blessing of the future Buddha, for these children to whom the alphabet was being taught, when they pronounced the letter A, there came forth the phrase :—

Fleeting are all the compounds of existence!

[And so thruout the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. At each letter the boy utters some Buddhist phrase, canonical or patristic. The letter V calls forth the words: “The Best Vehicle,” probably an allusion to the neo-Buddhism known as the Mahāyāna, the Great Vehicle.]

Thus, monks, *while the children read the alphabet, there appeared, by the future Buddha's*

3. INFANT WHEN LOST IS FOUND IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

power, the countless hundreds of thousands of *the chief gates of the Law*. Then, in regular order, thirty-two thousand children were, by means of the future Buddha present in the school, completely matured and their thoughts were directed toward supreme and perfect Enlightenment.

3. THE INFANT, WHEN LOST, IS FOUND IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY.

Luke II. 39-52.

And when they had accomplisht all things that were according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth. And the child grew, and waxt

strong, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him. And his parents went every year to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up after the custom of the feast; and when they had fulfilled the days, as they were returning, the boy Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and his parents knew it not; but supposing him to be in the company, they went a day's journey; and they sought for him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance: and when they found him not, they returned to Jerusalem, seeking for him. And it came to pass, after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions: and all that heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers. And when they saw him, they were astonished: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house? And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them. And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth; and he was subject unto them: and his mother kept all [these] sayings in her heart. And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men.

The Syriac Gospel of Thomas, and also the longer Greek, have this story in the Lucan form, with slight glosses : e. g. "He expounded unto them the parables of the prophets and the mysteries and hard sayings which are in the law." (Syriac only). Both Greek and Syriac, tho in variant forms, introduce here the blessing of Mary :—

(Syriac). The scribes and Pharisees answered and said to Mary, Art thou the mother of this boy? The Lord hath blest thee; for glory and wisdom like this we have not seen in boys, nor have we heard that any man has mentioned.

(Greek). And the scribes and Pharisees said, Art thou the mother of this child? And she said, I am. And they said to her, Blessed art thou among women, for God hath blest the fruit of thy womb; for such glory and such virtue and wisdom, we never either saw or heard.

Neither the shorter Greek nor the Latin Gospel of Thomas contains the temple incident; but the Latin has the blessing of Mary by the scribes and Pharisees. The Arabic Infancy Gospel has the temple scene, but uses the canonical discussion : **Whose son is Messiah?** as well as the Syriac gloss about expounding the mysteries of Scripture, which it amplifies thus :

And he explained the Scriptures and the law and the precepts and the statutes and the mysteries which are contained in the books of the prophets—things which the understanding of no creature attains unto.

The Arabic also adds discussions on astronomy, medicine, and philosophy.

Lalita Vistara XI.

(Foucaux's translation, pp. 120, 121.)

Then these prophets (*Rishis*) having thus praised the future Buddha [whom they had found in meditation] and having turned thrice around him on their right, went on their way across the skies.

The King Çuddhodana, however, when he saw not the future Buddha, was unhappy at his absence. He said: Whither is the young prince gone? I do not see him.

Thereupon a great crowd of folk, scattering on all sides, went to seek the young prince. Then a councillor, who was not among them, perceived the future Buddha in the shade of the rose-apple-tree, sitting entranced in the posture of meditation.

[This is in a grove near a workmen's village, whither he has wandered with his young companions, whom he forsook to meditate. The story is repeated in verse, and here the future Buddha says to his father:]

Putting toil aside, O father, seek higher !
Hast thou need of gold, I will make it rain
gold, etc.....
Be fully occupied with every one, O lord of
men !

Having thus spoken with authority to his father and to the folk in his train, he entered

4. THE LORD'S MOTHER IS PUBLICLY BLEST BY A WOMAN

at that moment into the best of cities; and, conforming himself to the usages of the world, he dwelt in that city, occupying his mind with his departure from home, he the perfectly pure One.

4. THE LORD'S MOTHER IS PUBLICLY BLEST BY A WOMAN.

Luke XI. 27, 28.

And it came to pass, as he said these things, a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which thou didst suck. But he said, Yea

rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.

[This follows the parable of the unclean spirit's return.]

Tibetan Book of Discipline (*Dulva*), Vol. 4.

(Realist School.) Rockhill: *Life of Buddha and the Early History of his Order, from Tibetan*. London, 1884, p. 23. Major Section on Discipline (*Mahāvastu*) of the Docetist sect (Sénart's text, Vol. 2, p. 157.)

Ah! blessed (*nibbuto*) is the mother;
Blessed is the father;
Ah! blessed the bride:
That woman has gone beyond sorrow!

The scene is laid at Rājagaha, in Buddha's youth, upon his return from viewing the cemetery. He throws a necklace to the maiden, whereupon his father commands him to marry her.

The story is not in the Pāli Canon, but in the Jātaka commentary (Pāli.) Its presence in two sectarian recensions of the Book of Discipline implies a respectable antiquity, but not unanimous canonicity. All versions of the Vinayo underwent amplification, and the absence of the incident from the Canon of the Elders means that it was added to the other Canons after the Pāli texts had been taken to Ceylon, in the third century B. C., but be-

4. THE LORD'S MOTHER IS PUBLICLY BLEST BY A WOMAN

fore the commentaries of Kanishka, in the first century A. D.

The Tibetan Vinayo (Dulva) was translated from the Sanskrit in the ninth century, and Barth considers that the Mahāvastu received additions down to the sixth. But when an incident is found in the corresponding sections of the Vinayo of two different schools, especially two such rival ones as the Realists and the Great Council Docetists, its pre-Christian antiquity is pretty certain. The schisms which divided these sects and produced varying recensions of the Canon took place in pre-Christian times.

5. WOMAN AT THE WELL.

John IV. 7-9.

There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water : Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. For his disciples were gone away into the city to buy food. The Samaritan woman therefore saith unto him, How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a Samaritan woman ? (For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans.)

In the Sanskrit Divyāvadāna,(1) p. 611, there is a story that Ānando, one day at Sāvatti, went to a well and askt water of a low-caste woman who was drawing it. She replied : "Lord Ānando, I am a woman of the lowest caste !" He answers that he askt not of her birth and family, but only for water. The story is translated into French, from the Sanskrit, in Burnouf's *Introduction*, ed. 1876, p. 183 ; and into English, from Chinese, in Beal's *Abstract of Four Lectures*, 1882, p. 166. As is usually the case, the Chinese versions (post-

(1) I class both this and the Mahāvastu as uncanonical, not because I am a bigoted Theravādin and believe only in the Pāli Texts, but because, albeit containing ancient canonical substrata from the lost recensions of other sects, those Sanskritized books have come down to us in late redactions and with no credentials of correct transmission. But when they agree verbatim with the Scriptures of other Buddhist sects I regard that much as canonical in a measure. Witness the preceding Parallel.

5. WOMAN AT THE WELL

Christian) bring out agreements with the Gospel unknown to the Sanskrit. Thus, in one of them, the woman asks: "Why askest thou water of me who am a low-caste woman?"

6. MIRACULOUS FEEDING OF 500 DISCIPLES (BUDDHIST) OR 5000 (CHRISTIAN).

In the Introductory Story (or fifth-century Commentary) to Birth-Story No. 78, there is a long legend about a wonderful multiplication of food, such as that ascribed to Elisha in the Second Book of Kings and to Jesus in all four of the Gospels. It has been alluded to by Max Müller and Estlin Carpenter, and I have to thank the latter for giving me the exact reference, which was just where I ex-

pected : viz., in the Jātaka Commentary. But the lack of the Pāli text in Philadelphia,(1) coupled with the ruinously small print of the English translation (especially of the commentary) has prevented me from finding it before.

In the Buddhist account the miracle is only partially Buddha's, but principally Moggallāno's. This eminent disciple is sent by Buddha to persuade a miserly magnate to cook enough cakes for a public feast instead of only for himself, as he is about to do. The Master commands the disciple to convert the miser to self-denial, and then to transport him and his wife, together with the cakes, &c., to Sāvatti. "I and the five hundred monks will stay at home," says Buddha, "and I will make the cakes furnish them with a meal."

Moggallāno goes on his errand, and by absurd miracles (mostly found in apocryphal books) persuades the miser to allow his wife to cook one cake for himself and one for his Buddhist visitor. But the dough swells and makes the cake enormous, whereupon the miser rebukes his wife and proceeds to make smaller cakes, which also swell. When the wife takes one cake to present to the monk, all the other cakes adhere to it, and neither she nor her husband can separate them. While struggling with the task, the miser's craving suddenly vanishes, and Moggallāno converts him. Following

(1) Thru the good offices of Professor Easton, this expensive text has lately been added to the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

6. MIRACULOUS FEEDING OF 500 DISCIPLES

Buddha's instruction, he then transports the miser, his wife and the whole feast to Sāvatti. Then follows the main scene :—

Then husband and wife came before the Master and said meal-time had come. And the Master, passing into the refectory, sat down on the Buddha-seat prepared for him, with the Brotherhood gathered around. Then the Lord High Treasurer poured the water of donation over the hands of the Brotherhood with the Buddha at its head, whilst his wife placed a cake in the Lord's alms-bowl. Hereof he took what sufficed to support life, as did also the five hundred monks. Next the Treasurer went round offering milk mixt with ghee and honey and jagghery ; and the Master and the Brotherhood brought their meal to a close. Lastly the Treasurer and his wife ate their fill, but still there seemed no end to the cakes. Even when all the monks and the scrap-eaters thruout the monastery had all had a share, still there was no sign of the end approaching. So they told the Master, saying, "Lord, the supply of cakes grows no smaller."

"Then throw them down by the great gate of the monastery."

So they threw them away in a cave not far from the gateway ; and to this day a spot called *The Pot-Cake* is shown at the extremity of that cave.

This story appears to me to belong to the common sphere of Asiatic folk-lore, together with the similar ones about Christ and Elisha. The only suspicious circumstance is the number five hundred, so easily turned to five thousand (just as the Buddhists themselves changed the 500 years of

Buddha's prophecy to 5000 as time wore on.) (2) The number 500 is eminently Buddhist, as we could prove by numerous texts. The "five hundred towns of Ceylon" even found its way into Roman geography, whereas the number is purely symbolical.

In spite of our story's first known appearance in the Ceylon commentary of the fifth century, it is probably older, and may yet be found in some Chinese *avadāna*. But still there is a chance that the Christian came first and influenced the Buddhist, especially as there is, in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, a duplicate of the story, wherein the number is 4000 instead of 5000.

(2) See Vol. I, p. 64.

7. DISCIPLE WALKING ON THE WATER.

In the Introductory Story to Jātaka 190, there is a legend of a monk walking on the water of the river Aciravatī by fixing his mind on Buddha, but beginning to sink as soon as he looks at the waves. Collecting his mind again, he walks upon the river to meet the Buddha in the Conqueror's Grove. As the introductory stories to the Jātakas are of late origin, probably post-Christian, we have not included this story among our parallels. It is to be noted that the Christian legend, in Matthew XIV, is also of later origin than the Synoptical groundwork. It is told of Peter, and yet is not found in the Petrine Gospel of Mark. The legendary character of the *narrative* additions to the First Gospel is recognized by all historical critics. At the same time, both the Buddhist and Christian tales in question are built upon a primitive doctrine: viz., the power of the Master (Christianity) or of the Arahāt (Buddhism) to transcend the laws of physics.

Let it be noted, however, that, besides the uncanonical introductory story, there is the Jātaka proper (No. 190) which relates a similar thing. But it is told as a fairy-tale of the long past, and lacks the striking Gospel parallelism of the uncanonical myth.

In the latter we may perhaps trace a Christian

loan; but Kern(3) has given a very good reason for the Hindū origin of the story. It is this. In the Old Testament, the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea and of the Jordan is accomplished by the drying up of their beds. Therefore, if Matthew had borrowed the story from Hebrew antecedents, he would not have changed it as he has. And that it is fictitious I hold, not because it is marvelous, but because literary criticism shows it to be a later addition. Peter's own Gospel of Mark lacks it, as it also lacks the famous charge to Peter, the giving of the keys. Now, walking on the water is not among the powers given by Jesus to his disciples, but it is among those predicated by Gotamo of his, as we have seen already (Parallel 38). Therefore, as the incident is fictitious, and probably borrowed, we may look to India and to Buddhism for its source.

(3) I owe this useful note to my valuable critic, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Revue Biblique Internationale*, Paris, July, 1906.

8. MONEY FOUND IN FISHES.

Matthew XVII. 27.

Go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a shekel: that take, and give unto them for me and thee.

Birth-Story 288, Stanza 1.

Fishes are worth a thousand [pieces.]
There is no one who could believe this.
But to me let them be here seven pence:
I would fain buy even this [whole] string
of fishes.

This stanza is older than the prose, and contains an indication of the antiquity of the legend, but none as to its form. The Jātakas are semi-canonical at best, and for this reason I class this parallel in the Appendix. The verses are unintelligible without the story, which is not strictly canonical. A wicked brother throws a thousand rupees into the Ganges, in mistake for a parcel of gravel, which he has packt to look like a parcel of money, so that he may steal the latter. The river-spirit befriends the good brother (of course the Bodhisat) because he has fed the fishes and transferred the merit to her; so she *makes a big-mouthed fish to swallow the money, which fishermen recover.* The

fishers ask every one a thousand rupees plus seven annas, but charge the Bodhisat seven annas only. Hence the stanza. Compare Grimm's Folk-tales, No. 17.

9. THE PRODIGAL SON.

There is in the Gospel Lotus (*Saddharma Pundarika*) a story of a son who leaves his home for fifty years, during which time his father becomes a rich man, while the son is poor. The latter returns and does menial work for his father, but knows him not, whereas the father recognizes him, but conceals his own identity. On his death-

bed, however, he wills his estate to the outcast son. The story is tediously verbose, in the style of the Mahāyāna, and occupies pp. 99-106 in Kern's English translation (S. B. E. XXI; American reprint, X.) It ends with a religious application:—

Even so, Lord, do we represent the sons of the Tathāgata, and the Tathāgata says to us: **Ye are my sons, as the householder did.**

The Gospel Lotus was translated into Chinese in the third or early fourth century, and the Sanskrit original is of unknown older date. But, as the Mahāyāna texts systematically amplify and exaggerate, the story existed once in a simpler form, which may yet be recovered. It is just possible that the *Lotus* borrowed it from Luke, but more probable that the loan was in the opposite direction. The parable of the Talents has been decided by Jacobi to be of Hindū origin, and Luke has this too. Tho the latter parallel is found in the Jain books, we have given it a place in our present collection, at the very end.

As I have already pointed out, Luke has more agreements with Buddhism than the other two Synoptists, and this appears to be because he gathered material in Perea, where Judaism was hardly felt, while Greek civilization had great centers there, with caravan routes to the East.

10. GOD SHALL BE ALL IN ALL.

1 Cor. XV. 28.

And when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.

Lafcadio Hearn, in his *Gleanings in Buddha-fields* (Boston, 1897, p. 96) quotes, from a Japanese text called Engaku-sho, as follows :

It has been written that in whatsoever time all human minds accord in thought and will with the mind of the Teacher, *there shall not remain even one particle of dust that does not enter into Buddhahood.*

Teitaro Suzuki tells me that this is taken from the section of the Mahāyāna Canon called Avatamsaka.

II. THE WHEEL OF LIFE.

James III. 6.

The tongue is a fire : the world of iniquity among our members is the tongue, which defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the wheel of nature (or, birth), and is set on fire by hell.

This expression, wheel of genesis, in James, was pointed out by Schopenhauer, in his *Parerga*, as an allusion to the Buddhist Wheel of Life ; but it is very probable that the Babylonian wheel of life was the one which reached Palestine, and India herself may also be indebted thereto. (See Goblet d'Alviella, in *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* : Bruxelles, 1898, Vol. 36, p. 462).

12. THE WANDERING JEW.

In 1899, a Japanese scholar, Kumagusu Minakata, then sojourning in London, propounded in *Notes and Queries* a Buddhist analog to the legend of the Wandering Jew. It is found in the Chinese version of the *Samyuktāgama*, one of the canonical collections of Buddha's Dialogs. I have not, however, been able to find it in the Pāli *Samyutta Nikāyo* (or Classified Collection) which is a different sectarian recension of the same as the Chinese. On the other hand, the story is in the Sanskrit of the *Divyāvadāna*, a collection of extracts from the Buddhist Canon, together with later additions, compiled sometime between the second century B. C. and perhaps the sixth century A. D. The Chinese translation of the Classified Collection dates from the fifth century A. D., while the Sanskrit original is lost.(1)

The story is that *Pindolo*, one of Buddha's disciples, being challenged by unbelievers to work a miracle, flew up into the air and brought down an alms-bowl which had been fixt upon a pole.

(1) Fragments have been found of late years in Chinese Turkestan. The present writer had recognized the former existence of a Sanskrit Canon before Pischel's publication of the fragments in 1904, and in my *Buddhist Bibliography* (London, 1903, p. 14) I had the following title: REMAINS OF LOST RECENSIONS OF THE CANON IN PRĀKRIT AND SANSKRIT. But Rhys Davids altered this to "Prākrit and Sanskrit Books." My original title may be seen on the Leipzig proof-sheets preserved in the library of Bryn Mawr College.

Buddha reproved him for this, and forbade his disciples to work miracles for display. Thus far the story is in the Pāli Canon, in the Book of Discipline, and may be found in English at page 79 of Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XX. But the two later sources add the statement that Buddha told Pindolo :

Na tāvat te parinirvātavyam yāvad Dharmo nāntarhita iti :

“Thou shalt not attain Nirvāna [i. e. die] until the Dharma [i. e. Buddhist Gospel] disappears.” The expression, “attain Nirvāna,” is applied to the death of an Arahāt, for, like other Asiatics, the Hindūs have different verbs “to die,” according to the rank of the departed. Buddha therefore said : “You shall not die while my religion lasts.” As the Buddhists believe in a coming Buddha who will be greater than Gotamo was, this also means : “You shall not die until the next Buddha comes to earth.”

Curiously enough the passage was translated by Burnouf in 1844 in his great Introduction to (later) Buddhism, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, (second edition, 1876, p. 355). But scholars appear to have overlooked the parallel to the Christian legend until the Japanese savant pointed it out.

The first appearance in Europe of the legend of the Wandering Jew is in the Chronicle of Roger of Wendover, where we read that the story was told at the monastery of St. Alban's in the year 1228, by an Armenian archbishop then visiting England.

It appears to have been known already in that country, for the English monks begin by asking their visitor about the mysterious wanderer. The archbishop says that he has himself conversed with him, for he roams about the Orient, passing his time among bishops.

Now we know that Persia and Armenia were buffer-states between India and the hither East, and that Hindū legends, like that of Barlaam and Joasaph, passed through those lands on their way to us. Unless we can find a Christian original for the story of the Wanderer earlier than the fifth century, when the Chinese Classified Collection was translated, we must give the Buddhist story the priority, and strongly suspect that, like the Holy Grail, it probably gave rise to the Christian one.

Until the vast literature preserved in China is translated, we shall have few facts to judge from. Fā-Hien heard the Buddhist Holy Grail story preached from a Ceylon pulpit in the fifth century, and there was great religious and literary activity in China and Chinese Turkestan from his time onward. Christianity and Buddhism met; their legends were interchanged and at times confused, as in the case of St. Joasaph; until at last a Chinese emperor forbade the intermixture and decreed that the Syrian Messiah and the Indian Buddha should be kept distinct. This fact was already known to that pioneer of cosmic history, Edward Gibbon

12. THE WANDERING JEW

(*Decline and Fall*, cap. 47, between notes 117 and 118): "They [the mandarins] cherisht and they confounded the gods of Palestine and of India."(2)

(2) Gibbon ought to be re-edited by a scholar familiar with the Sacred Books of the East, especially for the Zoroastrian chapter and the allusions to India, China, and Buddhism. In *Decline and Fall*, chap. 64, note 33, we read: "The attachment of the Khans, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bonzes and lamas (Duhalde, *Histoire de la Chine*, tom. i. pp. 502-503) seems to represent them as the priests of the same god, of the Indian *Fo*, whose worship prevails among the sects of Hindostan, Siam, Thibet, China and Japan. But this mysterious subject is still lost in a cloud, which the researches of our Asiatick Society may gradually dispel." Such was at once the ignorance and the knowledge of Europe's greatest historian in 1788, and his latest editor reprints the note without comment. Thus does the study of Buddhism languish.

**13. THE PARABLE OF THE TALENTS
IN THE JAIN BOOKS AND
THE GOSPEL according to the HEBREWS.**

Hermann Jacobi, the translator of the Jain Scriptures, has pointed out a parallel therein to the New Testament Parable of the Talents; and adds that the Jain version agrees more closely with that in the lost Hebrew Gospel than with Matthew or Luke.(1)

Gospel according to the Hebrews

(ap. Eusebius, Theophania, as given in Preuschen's *Antilegomena*: Giessen, 1901, p. 6 (Greek); p. 109 (German).

The Gospel which comes to us in Hebrew characters has directed the threat, not against the one who hid, but against the one who wasted his capital; for [a lord] had three servants: one devoured his master's substance with harlots and flute-women; one multiplied his earnings, and one hid the talent; then, one was accepted, one merely blamed, and one shut up in prison.

**Final Lectures(2) (*Uttarâdhyayana*) VII.
15-21. Translated from the Prākṛit, S. B. E. XLV.
pp. 29, 30.**

(1) S. B. E. XLV, p. xlii. Quoted by Carus in *The Open Court*, March, 1905.

(2) Said to have been delivered, when he was dying, by Mahāvīro, the founder of the Jains and a contemporary of Buddha's. See S. B. E., XLV, p. 232, note.

13. THE PARABLE OF THE TALENTS

Three merchants set out on their travels, each with his capital; one of them gained there much; the second returned with his capital, and the third merchant came home after having lost his capital.

This parable is *taken from common life*; learn [to apply it] to the Law.

The capital is human life, the gain is heaven; thru the loss of that capital man must be born as a denizen of hell or a brute animal. These are the two courses open to the sinner. * * *

Bear in mind what is at stake, and consider the lot of the sinner against that of the virtuous man. He who brings back his capital is like unto one who is born again as a man. Those who, thru the exercise of various virtues, become pious householders will be born again as men, for all beings will reap the fruit of their actions. But he who increases his capital, is like unto one who practises eminent virtues. The virtuous, excellent man cheerfully attains the state of the gods.

The last paragraph is in the English of Paul Carus, but faithful to Jacobi's meaning.

Jacobi (p. xlii of the Introduction) adds:

Taking into consideration (1) that the Jaina version contains only the essential elements of the parable, which in the Gospels are developd into a full story; and (2) that it is expressly stated in the

Uttarādhyayana (VII, 15) that this parable is taken from common life, I think it probable that the Parable of the Three Merchants was invented in India, and not in Palestine.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews is considered by New Testament scholars as the most respectable among the uncanonical ones, and it contains matter of great antiquity. It was probably one of the lost sources of Matthew and Luke.

ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

P. 80. It is true that Majjhima 92 and 98 are not in the Chinese-Sanskrit Madhyama; but Beal and Anesaki have found Sutta-Nipāto matter in other parts of the Canon, while the contents of the Āgamas themselves are largely interchangeable. Many sūtras lacking in the Madhyama confront us in the Saṃyukta or the Ekottara. The sections of one Collection are differently arranged in different versions and recensions, like those of Jeremiah in the Hebrew and the Septuagint. Matter present in one is absent in another, while the common matter stands in varying order. Thus, the Kokāliya-sutta which, in the Pāli, belongs to the Brahma, in both Chinese versions belongs to the Devatā: in the pre-pilgrim text it is Saṃyukta X. 8, and in Guṇabhadra's it is XLVIII. 12. I owe this to Anesaki's manuscript analysis, sent me some years ago.

The work of Anesaki cannot be overestimated. It is, in the domain of Buddhist science, like that of Conybeare and Harris in New Testament scholarship. Just as the Armenian version of the New Testament and the Old Syriac of the Gospels have had a separate transmission from the Greek for a millennium and a half, so have the Chinese versions of the Discipline and the Dialogs been

kept apart from the Pāli for a similar period. It was Beal and Nanjio who began the good work of comparison, Beal giving us selected sections, chiefly from the Discipline, and Nanjio comparing the whole of the Longer Dialogs. But Anesaki has compared the other Collections, and is also about to publish an edition of the Sutta-Nipāto. When this appears we shall know much more about the text than we yet have known.

P. 137. On this page the eclecticism of later ages than the third century is past by; but it now seems to me that Van Eysinga's argument from this later eclecticism should not be neglected. The Chinese imperial edict of the eighth century, forbidding the two religions to be mixt; the confusion, in the seventh century, of the Christ and Buddha legends by Muhammad(1); the Buddhist-Christian romance of *Barlaam and Joasaph* at the sixth century, ultimating at the sixteenth in the admission of the Buddha to the rank of a Catholic saint; the mixture of Buddhism, Christianity and Mazdeism by Mānī in the third century: all these facts form a chain of cumulative evidence that, upon the continent of Asia, in the ages which beheld the early struggles of the younger religion, there was a systematic tendency to eclecticism which must be seriously reckoned with.

The Chinese edict here meant (and referred to on p. 237, above) is so little known, that I will con-

(1) See the Rev. Wm. St. Clair Tisdall, in *The Original Sources of the Qur'ân*: London, 1905, pp. 162-168.

dense the facts from Takakusu's book, translating the Asiatic names into English. A Buddhist named Wise from the North of India was in China in A. D. 786, and translated a Mahāyāna sūtra in collaboration with Adam of Persia. Brother Wise knew neither Mongolian nor Chinese, while Adam knew no Sanskrit, and was ignorant of Buddhist doctrine. So their work could not be called translation. The Emperor was informed of the proceeding, examined the joint production of the Buddhist and the Christian, and then forbade it. *The Buddhist cloister, said he, differs much, both in custom and religious observance, from the Syrian one: the two are diametrically opposed. Brother Adam should transmit the teaching of Messiah, and the Buddhists the Sūtras of the Buddha. It is desirable that the boundaries of the doctrines should be kept distinct, and their followers must not intermingle. The right must keep apart from the wrong, as the rivers Ching and Wei flow separately.*

P. 163. In commenting upon my metaphor about parallax, a learned correspondent observes:—

“Yes: the straight line drawn from Jerusalem to Benāres constitutes the trigonometrical base-line for our spiritual computations! But, from another point of view, I would compare the ‘two Lords’ to the two foci of an elliptic planetary orbit: Jesus is the sun around which humanity’s spiritual life is destined to revolve, and Buddha is the other (vacuous) focus of the ellipse near aphelion.”

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*This reference is Anesaki's to an edition I have not seen.

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*In Chinese transcription it appears also to have the form *Çrāmana*.

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*His religious name is Daisetsu, which means *Great Simplicity*.

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P. 63, note	.	.	.	Charton.
127, note 30	.	.	.	Lardner.
187, line 6	.	.	.	Sākyas.
262, title 4	.	.	.	Mahāvastu.

To the pages mentioned at Vol. I, p. 257, add

II.

On pp. 67, note; 79, 82, 83, 88, 91, 92, 96, 106, 121; 137, note; 162 and 202, there are quotations from **Canonical Scriptures** which should be in heavy type.

VOL. II.

P. 27, line 1	.	.	.	Kingshouse.
37, note	.	.	.	<i>mahāudakavāhako sañjāyi.</i>
177	.	.	.	<i>Sakkāyo.</i>
194, note, <i>bis.</i>	.	.	.	Çāriputra.
195	.	.	.	<i>pabbajitā</i> [plural.]

ADDENDA TO
OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

(See Vol. 1, p. 311, for extracts from criticisms, friendly and hostile, in English, French and German.)

G. A. VAN DEN BERGH VAN EYSINGA.

Author of Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen. (Göttingen, 1904.)

From his review in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*: Leipzig, März 31, 1906, Jahrgang 27, No. 13, coll. 782-784.

“Das hier zu besprechende Werk ist der erste Versuch die buddhistischen Pälitexte, die sämtlich unumstritten vorchristlich sind, mit ähnlichen neutestamentlichen Stellen zu vergleichen. Mit Recht lässt der Verfasser sich dabei mehr durch Uebereinstimmung der Gedanken als der Worte leiten. Edmunds gibt uns eine wichtige Materialsammlung und hat *in theologicis* Mass zu halten gewusst, wie aus der Tatsache hervorgeht, dass er nur für das dritte und vielleicht für das vierte Evangelium buddhistischen Einfluss anzunehmen geneigt ist, und sich des hypothetischen Charakters seines Unternehmens vollkommen bewusst bleibt.

* * *

“Von einer gründlichen Behandlung der Entlehnungsfrage kann weiterhin keine Rede sein ohne Benutzung dieses wichtigen Buches.”

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

Review by William Brenton Greene, Jr., in Vol. 4, No. 2: April, 1906, pp. 247-249.

“In all respects this work has been well done. It is characterized thruout by becoming seriousness, by exact scholarship, and by broad culture.”

THEOSOPHICAL REVIEW.

London, July, 1906, Vol. 38, No. 227, pp. 464-468.

Article by G. S. R. Mead.

"This is the third and complete edition of Mr. Edmunds' laborious and scholarly work. Most writers in referring to these parallels base themselves on Seydel's works (published in 1882 and 1884, and a posthumous one in 1897). But this German scholar labored under the disadvantage of not working on the original Pāli texts. Mr. Edmunds goes to the originals, and gives us no less than 94* parallels of a most suggestive nature, and his book must now be regarded as by far the most authoritative on the subject.

*

*

*

"Where Mr. Edmunds breaks down in his comparison is that he is not comparing actual historical Buddhism with true historical Christianity: he is comparing the traditions of the monks and [the] Evangelists. From the evangelical tradition is lacking the tradition of the Gnosis, and from the traditions of the monks the full comprehension of the mystery."

[While admitting that much of the Masters' teaching perished with the hearers, yet in default of that loss being repaired, we are compelled to call the doctrine of the Gospels and of the Nikāyas historical Christianity and historical Buddhism.—A. J. E.]

CATHOLIC CYCLOPÆDIA.

Vol. 3, article *Buddhism*, by Charles Francis Aiken, New York, 1908.

In this article, our book is quoted among the authorities at the end.

For works by the Author and the Editor, see Vol. 1, pp. 321-323.

*115 in the fourth edition. A. J. E.

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